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A CHRONOLOGICAL  
ABRIDGMENT  
OF THE  
ROMAN HISTORY,  
FROM THE  
Foundation of the City  
TO THE  
EXTINCTION of the REPUBLIC.

Written in FRENCH

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Translated, and improved with Notes, geographical and critical,  
illustrating the ANTIQUITIES of ROME,

By Mr. THOMAS NUGENT.

*Tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento. . Virg. Æn.*

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THE  
TRANSLATOR'S  
PREFACE.

**H**ISTORY has been justly considered \* by an ancient writer *as a gift of divine Providence, which rescues the actions of heroes from oblivion, and consigns them to immortality.* But of all histories, that of the Roman republic offers to us the most numerous list of celebrated names; and consequently is capable of affording the greatest variety of instruction and entertainment. This appears the more extraordinary, when we reflect on the mean original of that famous city, composed at first of fugitives and vagabonds, whose character was so contemptible, that their very neighbours declined being allied with them by marriage. And yet this people not only surmounted the many difficulties which threatened their constitution in its infancy; but made such improvements in virtue and military discipline, that they gradually subdued their neighbours, and

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\* Agathias in Hist.



## THE PREFACE.

rose, at length, to be lords of the best part of the inhabited world. Hence no other history contains so spacious a field of interesting events, being interwoven with the affairs of all other nations ; so that what the witty historian \* observes on this subject, is strictly true, *that whoever reads the transactions of the Romans, does not learn the history of one nation only, but that of all mankind.*

The public has been favoured with several abridgments of the history of this mighty republic ; but without entering into the merits of the several performances of this kind, we may venture to affirm, that they are all greatly inferior to the following work, in regard to exactness of chronology, and beauty of order and method. This, indeed, is neither a mere history, nor mere chronology ; but a judicious mixture of both. History furnishes us with a copious and distinct account of past transactions ; but does not ascertain the succession of time. Chronology, on the contrary, being employed about the exactness of dates, contents itself with the bare naming of events, without entering into details ; and as it does not give us a regular thread and connexion, it can afford but a very dry and inadequate knowledge of past transactions. But here, on the one hand, the principal events of the Roman history are treated in a more copious manner than in a work of chronology ; and, on the other, the dates are preserved as near as possible, while the facts are taken, and enlarged upon, from the best historians. This is the plan of the president Henault's excellent abridgment of the history of France, a work that has been received with the universal applause of the republic of letters. The utility of this method is so strik-

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\* Ut qui res ejus legunt, non unius populi, sed generis humani facta discant. *Florus in Prol.*



## THE PREFACE.

ing; that M. de Voltaire says \*, *we are indebted to M. Henault for the shortest and best history of France; and perhaps for the only manner in which history ought hereafter to be written. For the multiplicity of facts and details, hath swelled the number and magnitude of volumes to such a degree, that we must soon be reduced to consult them only as dictionaries, and be content with occasional extracts from those laborious compilers.*

How near the following work comes up to the perfection of the abovementioned model, is left to the public to determine. This must be said in its behalf, that it is the first undertaking of the kind that has appeared in English; and, without vanity, I may affirm, that it has been considerably improved in the translation. Having observed, that side notes are of great assistance to the memory, I have been particularly exact in supplying this defect of the original, so as to point out in the margin, the heads of the most remarkable events contained in each paragraph. Care hath also been taken to fill up such omissions in the body of the history, as appeared to be considerable; for instance, the story of Tarpeia; the purchasing of the Sibylline books by Tarquin; the adventure of the famous Clelia, &c. which are passages of too much importance, to be passed over in silence, even in a general sketch of the Roman history.

The notes added to this work, are of two sorts, geographical and critical. The former are extracted chiefly from Brietius, Cluverius, and Cellarius. In these I have inserted several passages of the ancient poets and historians, that have any relation to the places or countries mentioned by our author. The latter are intended to illustrate the antiquities of Rome, for

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\* *Siecle de Louis XIV.* in the catalogue of writers.

## THE PREFACE.

the conveniency of beginners, and to prevent the trouble of consulting a multiplicity of books on the same subject. For these I am indebted to Manutius, Sigonius, Godwin, Cantelius, Grævius, Heineccius, but above all to Rosinus, and Basil Kennet. With such improvements, I flatter myself, we may apply to the present work, what a writer of the first eminence and authority \* has said of M. Henault's performance, *that it may be considered as the quintessence of every thing remarkable and worthy of notice in this history.*

P. S. The great value, and high encomiums of the celebrated history of France by the president Henault, mentioned in this preface, have induced us to undertake a translation of that excellent work, which we are now preparing for the press, and intend to publish with all convenient speed.

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\* The present King of Prussia, in the Preliminary Discourse to the Memoirs of the House of Brandenburg.



ADVER.



# ADVERTISEMENT.

*I DO not think it necessary to explain the motives, which induced me to undertake this work. The grandeur of ancient Rome is not yet intirely eclipsed; but is still visible amidst her ruins. Rome, in her flourishing state, was the capital of the world; in her decline, she gave birth to empires, that were formed out of her ashes. Would it not, therefore, be a shame to be unacquainted with this history; or to dispute the utility of a book calculated to promote this branch of knowledge?*

*Far better is it, therefore, to shew what I have done in endeavouring to follow the plan of the president M. Henault, in his chronological abridgment of the history of France; a work that has been since imitated by several other writers.*

*To render a short compendium almost as interesting and instructive as a large body of history; to accommodate the result of several years study to the lowest capacity, without the least affectation, or shew of art; to avoid details, yet to omit nothing material; to draw similar characters, yet to give their peculiar features; to exhaust the subject, yet appear to skim over the surface; such was the task undertaken by the president M. Henault; a task in which he has succeeded with universal applause.*

*This kind of writing, for which we are indebted to that celebrated writer, required a plan analogous to the diver-*



## ADVERTISEMENT.

*diversity and extent of the materials. The new method is possessed of this advantage in a high degree, being a complete landskip, where, at a single glance, you may distinguish an infinite variety of objects.*

*With this same view, I have divided my history into centuries, at the end of which I have subjoined some remarks; and at the beginning I have exhibited tables with different columns, containing a series of the chief magistrates of Rome, and of cotemporary princes, together with the names of eminent and learned men, and a short account of their writings.*



## ERRATA.

- Page 59. l. 3. from the bottom, for *ix* r. *ovx*.  
 — 69. l. 39. before *than* insert *rather*.  
 — 166. l. 5. before *conquerors*, dele *to*.  
 — 176. l. 7. for *in* r. *with*.  
 — 184. l. 11. from the bottom, for *terre* r. *torre*.  
 — 210. l. 4. from the bottom, for *Africa* r. *Attica*.  
 — 294. l. 17. from the bottom, for *would* r. *could*.  
 — 328. l. 26. for *delivers* r. *delivered*.  
 — 393. l. 23. for *Gebenna* r. *Cebenna*.  
 — 409. l. 2. for *Catulus* r. *Catullus*.  
 — 415. l. 15. from the bottom, for *Savi* r. *Savio*.  
 — 430. l. 22. for *kill* r. *killed*.  
 — 444. l. 14. after *was* insert *the*, and after *only* insert *way*.



THE

THE  
ROMAN ANNALS:  
OR, A  
Chronological Abridgment  
OF THE  
HISTORY OF ROME.



THE FIRST CENTURY.

**T**HE Romans trace their original up to Æneas : for their historians tell us, that after the destruction of Troy, Æneas fled into Italy (*a*), where he married Lavinia, daughter of Latinus king of the Aborigines (*b*), after whose name (Latinus) these people were called Latins, and that there he founded the city of Lavinium (*c*). Ascanius, son of Æneas, built on the mountain Albanus a new city, which took from thence the name of Alba Longa (*d*) : and it is from the kings of Alba that Romulus and Remus are said to be descended.

*Year 1. of Rome. Before Christ 753.*

Foundation of Rome by Romulus and Remus. These princes were twins, and sons of a vestal named Rhea Sylvia, who was daughter of

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(*a*) The name of Italia, or Italy, some derive from Italus king of the Siculi, others from the old Greek word *Ἰταλός*, signifying *an ox*, this country abounding with oxen of extraordinary size and beauty.

(*b*) Some historians are of opinion, that the *Aborigines* had that name given them, because they had been in Italy from the beginning, and did not derive their origin from any other nation ; others, changing the name into *Aberrigines*, hold that they were a wandering people, such being the import of that word. Dionysius of Halicarnassus says they came from Arcadia, and that they were siled *Aborigines*, either because they lived on mountains, and then it is a Greek derivation, *ἀβὸν γένος* ; or because they gave origin to the Latins ; thus Pliny calls the Tyrians *Aborigines Gadium*, because that city was founded by them.

(*c*) It is said to have stood on a hill, now called *Monte di Levano*.

(*d*) It was called Alba from a white sow, which Æneas had found in the place where it stood ; and *Longa*, because it extended the whole length of a lake near which it was built ; probably the lake of *Castel Gandolfo*.

B

Numitor,



Romulus  
first king.

Civil go-  
vernment.

Numitor, king of Alba and Latium. To hide her shame, she gave out that her children were the issue of a secret intercourse between her and the god Mars. This tale gained credit afterwards with the Romans, who were pleased with the opportunity of ennobling the birth of their founders. A quarrel arising betwixt Romulus and Remus, each of whom pretended to the supreme and sole command of the colony, Romulus kills his brother; and thus the whole power devolves into his hands: he gives his name to the infant city; and being ambitious to pass for the offspring of Mars, he consecrates it to that deity. He is elected king and head of the religion; but is obliged to temper his authority by the institution of a senate (*e*), composed of a hundred persons most distinguished by their birth and merit, to whom he gave the name of *patres*, or *fathers*. Their descendants had the title of *patricians*; which was the original of the first nobility among the Romans; the rest of the inhabitants were called *plebs*, or *plebeians*. To the former he granted the honour of sacerdotal functions, the care of sacrifices, and of religious rites and ceremonies, the administration of justice, and all civil and military dignities, from which the plebeians were absolutely excluded. But at the same time he left some share of authority to the people: whatever related to war and peace, to the creation of magistrates, and even to the election of the sovereign, was submitted to their decision: yet the approbation of the senate was still necessary in all these matters.

“ Such, says the abbé de Vertot, was the fundamental constitution  
“ of this state, neither purely monarchical, nor republican. The  
“ king, the senate, and the people, were in some measure, depen-  
“ dent on each other. And from this mutual dependance resulted an  
“ equilibrium, which moderated the power of the prince, at the same  
“ time that it secured the authority of the senate and the liberty of the  
“ people.”

By the list which Romulus took of the citizens of Rome, there were only three thousand able to serve on foot, and about three hundred on horseback; these he divided into three tribes, and at the head of each he placed an officer, by the name of *tribune* (*f*). Each tribe voted at the meetings in the *Campus Martius* (*g*) or in the forum (*h*). They

(*e*) They were called *senatores a senectute*, from their age and gravity.

(*f*) So called, either because he presided over the tribe, or was chosen by its suffrages.

(*g*) The *Campus Martius* was a large field near Rome, on the banks of the river Tiber, where the youth practised all manner of feats of activity, and learnt the use of arms; here the citizens assembled also for the chusing of burgeses and magistrates. It was called Martius, because it had been consecrated by the old Romans to the god Mars.

(*h*) The Roman forums were public buildings of an oblong figure, surrounded with arched porticos. There were two sorts, *venalia*, and *civilia*; the former were nothing more than market places; the latter were for ornament, and for the courts of justice. Of these there were five very considerable; but that which bore the name of forum by way of eminence, on account of its antiquity, and its most general use in public transactions, was the *forum Romanum*, built by Romulus.

were



## Eminent and learned men.

In this column I include some foreigners, especially Greeks, because, in regard to laws, philosophy, rhetoric, poetry, and all the polite arts, the Romans were no more than disciples or imitators of the Greeks.

Archilochus, a Greek poet, native of the isle of Paros, flourished in the fifteenth olympiad.

He is the inventor of Iambic verse, a weapon he made use of, if we may believe Horace, to vent his hatred.

*Archiloeum proprio rabies armavit Iambo.*

Archilochus was also a musician; and Plutarch attributes to him the setting of iambic verses to music.

Cynæthus, a Lacedæmonian. He flourished in the fifth olympiad.

He wrote the *Telegoniad* in verse, that is, the history of *Telegonus*, son of *Ulysses* and *Circe*.

*Eumelus, of Corinth.*

This poet, who lived in the ninth olympiad, was considered as the author of several performances, which have been since contested with him. The poem, of which there is the least doubt, is the hymn upon the voyage to *Delos*.

*Numa Pompilius*, the second king of *Rome*.

The resemblance betwixt the principles of this prince, and those of *Pythagoras*, occasioned the mistake of such as looked upon him as this philosopher's disciple. *Pythagoras* flourished above a century later.

*Servius Tullius*, the sixth king of the *Romans*.

This prince is said to have left memoirs, on which the *Roman commonwealth* was formed.

*Chorebus* victor  
at the olympic  
games - at 27. olymp.

## Contemporary princes.

### Kings of Israel.

Upon the division of the tribes of *Israel*, after the death of *Solomon*, a schism was formed, and the kingdom was split in two, one of which continued in the posterity of *David*, and was called the kingdom of *Judah*, the other was that of *Israel*, usurped by *Jeroboam*.

### Kings of Judah.

*Jotham* having ascended the throne towards the year 754 before Christ, died towards the year

<i>Ahaz</i> ,	739
<i>Hezekiah</i> ,	724
<i>Manasseh</i> .	696

### Kings of Israel.

*Pekeb*, who ascended the throne towards the year 755 before Christ, was killed by *Hoseah* towards

	735
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*Hoseah* reigned till towards the year 718. Then the kingdom of *Israel*; of which *Samaria* was the capital, was subverted by *Shalmaneser*, king of *Assyria*; this prince carried the ten tribes into captivity, that had followed the schism of *Jeroboam*.

### Kings of Egypt.

*Bocchoris*, after a reign of 44 years, died towards the year

	742
<i>Sabbacon</i> ,	730
<i>Succhus</i> ,	718
<i>Tharaca</i> ,	698
<i>Sabbacon</i> ,	692
<i>Sethon</i> ,	687

*Anarchy.*

### Kings of Assyria.

*Tiglath-Pileser*, after a reign of 29 years, died towards the year

	729
<i>Shalmaneser</i> ,	714
<i>Sennacherib</i> ,	710
<i>Esahaddon</i>	668

*Saboduchinus.*

### Kings of Macedonia.

*Thurimas*, after a reign of 38 years, according to some authors, died towards the year

	729
<i>Perdiccas I.</i>	678

*Argeus.*

*Sparta* was governed in this period by kings, whose chronology and names are very uncertain.

*Athens*, at the time of the foundation of *Rome*, began to be governed by decennial archons, and towards the year 684 by annual ones.

were afterwards subdivided into ten *curiæ*, or companies of a hundred men, each of which was commanded by a *centurio*, and had a *curio* to perform the sacrifices. The lands were distributed into thirty equal parts, one to every curia, and about two acres to each individual. Care was taken, however, to make a necessary reserve for the expence of religious worship, as also for the king's revenue, and the exigencies of the state. It is generally believed, that the foundations of Rome were laid the 21st of April; on which day were afterwards celebrated the *Palilia* (*i*), or feast of Pales, goddess of shepherds, in remembrance that Romulus was brought up by shepherds, and that most of his first companions led a pastoral life.

## 2.

**Asylum.** Romulus opens an asylum at Rome to every body that would come and take shelter there, of what state and condition so ever: he puts them under the protection of the *asylæan* god (*k*), a new kind of deity, to whom he erected a temple. This drew a multitude of vagabonds to Rome, such as fugitive slaves, persons plunged in debt, and criminals that fled from the pursuit of justice. Thus, says M. de Vertot, *from a nest of robbers issued forth the conquerors of the world.*

## 3.

Romulus, by the advice of the senate, sends ambassadors to the Sabines (*l*) and other neighbouring nations, demanding their daughters in marriage for the Romans: but the proposal is rejected with scorn.

## 4.

**Rape of the Sabine virgins.**

Rape of the Sabine virgins. Romulus, affronted at the refusal given to his ambassadors, thought proper to dissemble for some time; and appointed public games at Rome in honour of equestrian Neptune, who was called also *Consus*, or the god of *Counsel* (*l*). The people of the neighbouring cities were invited to this feast, and came accord-

(*i*) Some pretend that the ancient name was *Parilia*, and that this goddess was called *Pares*, from the Latin word *parere*, to bring forth, because prayers were then made for the fruitfulness of the sheep and other cattle. Ovid mentions a very tedious course of superstitious ceremonies, which the shepherds went through on that occasion. *Ovid. Fast. lib. 4.*

(*k*) Dionysius Halicarnassensis tells us, that in his time the place where the asylum had stood, was consecrated to Jupiter; whence some have conjectured the *asylæan* god to have been Jupiter, worshipped by Romulus under that title.

(*l*) The Sabines were an ancient people of Italy, situated between Hetruria and Latium, and said to be of Umbrian original. Their country was bounded on the north by Umbria and Picenum, on the south by Latium, on the west by part of Umbria and Hetruria, and on the east by the territories of the Picentes, Vestini, and Mariti. Their capital city was Cures, situated in the territory now called *Correze*, upon a little river of the same name, which empties itself into the Tiber above *La Farfa*. Part of the country of the Sabines makes a province of the ecclesiastic state, and is called *Terra Sabina*.

(*l*) He had an altar in the circus, quite different from all the other deities, because it was always veiled, to signify that counsels should be kept secret.

ingly :



ingly: among these were the inhabitants of *Cænina* (*m*), *Crustum-merium* (*n*) and *Antemnae* (*o*): but especially the Sabines, as the nearest to Rome, flocked thither in greatest numbers, with their wives and children. They were all received with the strongest demonstrations of friendship; but, while their attention was most taken up with the show, the Romans, upon a signal given by Romulus, rushed in with their drawn swords among the strangers, and carried off all the young women they found to their liking, to the number of about seven hundred. It is observed, that out of this whole number, there was only one married woman. The *Consualia*, or games in honour of the god Consus, were perpetuated at Rome, in commemoration of this first public spectacle exhibited by Romulus; and it is said, that to preserve the memory of the rape of the Sabine virgins, the custom was introduced of lifting the bride by main strength over the bridegroom's threshold.

This act of violence, which should naturally have been the ruin of Rome, proved the foundation of its grandeur. The *Cæninenses*, the *Antem- nates*, and *Crustumini*, full of the strongest resentment, took the field successively; but experienced the first efforts of the Roman valour, and were defeated. Acron, general of the *Cæninenses*, was slain by Romulus, who returned to Rome, loaded with the spoils of his enemy, *opima spolia*, a name he gave them to distinguish their superior excellence. We do not find, in the whole series of the Roman history, more than two generals, since Romulus, that had the honour of carrying such spoils to Rome. Those of this prince were deposited in a temple which he erected on the hill *Saturnius*, called afterwards the capitol, and which he consecrated to *Jupiter Feretrius*, so denominated from the Latin word *feretrum* (*p*), a trophy. This public entry of Romulus may be considered as the origin of the Roman triumphs, which, with some other military honours, was one of the principal sources of the grandeur of that nation. *Cænina*,

(*m*) *Cænina* was situate on the borders of Latium, and in the country of the Sabines. It was built on a mountain, as appears from Propertius, lib. 4. el. 11. *Cæcina ductor ab arce*: it is also joined by Ovid, lib. 2. Fast. with the town of *Cures*, *Te Tatius, parvique Cures, Cæninaque sensit*. Holstenius takes it to be either St. Angelo, or Monticelli.

(*n*) This town by Pliny and Livy is called *Crustum-merium* in the neuter gender; but Virgil makes it *Crustum-erii*, a masculine in the plural, *Ardea Crustum-erique*, *Æn.* l. 7. In Silius we find it *Crustumium*, from whence *Crustuminus* the adjective: it was either subject to the Sabines, or in their neighbourhood. Some geographers are of opinion that it stood on the same spot, as the present *Marcigliano Vecchio*.

(*o*) A town belonging to the Sabines, situated on this side of the *Anio*, from whence, according to Varro, it derives its name, *Antemnae, quod ante amnem, qui influit in Tiberim*. It is mentioned by Virgil, *Æn.* l. 7. in the plural, *Ardea, Crustum-erique, & turrigeræ Antemnae*; but Silius Italicus, lib. 8. uses it in the singular, *Antemnaque prisco—Crustumio prior*. Some place it on the Tiber, between the *Tiburtine* and *Nomantine* ways.

(*p*) Or, according to others, from the Latin word *ferire*, to smite; because he had slain the king with his own hand. Some derive it from the word *ferre*, to carry; because Romulus himself had carried thither the armour of the vanquished king.

B 3

*a, more than two generals - Crustu-  
v13—  
in the year 318. -  
Cornelius Cossus—  
Marcus Claudius Marcellus—542.*



**First Roman colonies,** Crustumium, and Antemnæ became Roman colonies : a good many of the inhabitants of those three cities were transplanted to Rome, and replaced by the same number of Romans. The like conduct was ever after observed by these people, which contributed not a little to the greatness of their empire.

5. 6. 7. 8.

**War with the Sabines.** The Sabines had taken time to make their military preparations against the Romans ; and the latter, on the other hand, had not been backward in applying for succours. Romulus having received supplies from the Albans and the Etruscans, mustered his forces, and found them not much inferior to those of the Sabines. The two armies engaged several times, with equal intrepidity, and alternate advantage (q) ; but nothing proved decisive (r). In short, it looked as if the war was to end only with the destruction of one of the two nations, when the Sabine women, under equal concern for their fathers and their husbands, went out of Rome (s), and throwing themselves in the midst of the combatants, obliged them, by their tears and lamentations, to put a stop to their fury. A truce, and soon after a treaty, was concluded, by which it was stipulated, that the Romans and the Sabines should unite henceforward, so as to constitute but one nation, under the government of their kings Romulus and Tatius, who should enjoy equal authority : it was also agreed, that Rome should preserve the name of its founder ; that the citizens should be called *Quirites* (t), a name, till then, particular to the Sabines ; out of which nation a hundred new senators were created.

**The Romans and Sabines become one people.**

(q) During this war, happened the affair of Tarpeia, daughter of Tarpeius, governor of the citadel, which Romulus built on the top of the hill Saturnius, called afterwards the capitol. Tatius encamped at the foot of this hill, where he found the Romans too well fortified to be attacked ; when Tarpeia being greatly taken with the bracelets and rings of the Sabines, called to them from above, and promised to betray the place, provided they would but give her what they wore on their left arms. The Sabines agreed to her request ; and by the taking of this citadel they were enabled to continue the war with greater security. We are told, that they crushed Tarpeia to death with their bucklers, which they threw upon her, thinking this a sufficient discharge of their promise. From her the hill Saturnius took the name of Tarpeius, till the building of the capitol ; and even then the steepest part of it, whence criminals were thrown down headlong, continued to be called the *Tarpeian rock*.

(r) In one of these engagements, we are told, that while the Romans were flying before the enemy, Romulus made a vow to Jupiter, in order to obtain his assistance ; upon which his troops made a stand, and drove back the Sabines. In consequence hereof, he erected a temple to Jupiter, whom, in memory of this happy event, he called *Stator*.

(s) This is according to Livy and Plutarch ; other historians tell us, that the reconciliation was effected by a deputation of the Sabine women, proposed by Hersilia, wife of Hostilius, who was grandfather to Tullus Hostilius.

(t) The Sabines took this name from *Cures*, their capitol. The principal deity worshipped in this city, was Juno *Quiris* or *Curis*, who was represented with a spear or lance in her hand, from whence she received the above denomination ; *Quiris*, in the Sabine language, signifying a *spear*.



# FIRST CENTURY.

It is said, that at this time was instituted the body of Roman knights, as a middle rank between the patricians and plebeians. The government maintained for each man a horse, from whence they had the name of *equites*, knights; they were to fight either on foot or on horseback, according as occasion required; and they were distinguished by a gold ring. Other historians make them of an earlier date, pretending they were created, to the number of three hundred, by Romulus for his body guards, independently of the twelve guards called lictors, whose business it was to walk before him in public. After the extinction of the regal dignity, these lictors officiated in the same manner before the supreme magistrates, carrying an ax, stuck in a bundle of rods, as a symbol of the sovereign power (u).

9. 10. 11. 12. 13.

The two kings lived together at Rome five years in perfect harmony; during this time their attention was taken up intirely in enlarging and improving the city, and instituting new games. Among others they founded the festival called *Matronalia* (x), in memory of the peace concluded by the mediation of the women.

The Camerini (y) were the only people that attempted to disturb the tranquillity which Rome then enjoyed: they made incursions twice, and ravaged the Roman empire; the senate summoned them to appear, and account for their depredations; but they despised the authority of this new court, and were punished for it with the loss of their town, which was taken by storm, and reduced to a colony.

14.

The death of Tatius. This event is differently related by historians; all that can be inferred, with any certainty, from their accounts, is that Tatius was murdered at Lavinium, whither he went with Romulus, to offer a sacrifice in expiation for some outrages committed by the Sabines against the Lavinians. As Romulus did not like that any body should share his power, he was suspected of having favoured this murder; at least, it is allowed that he did not appear to be so much affected with it as the laws of decency might, perhaps, require. He took care that no other prince should succeed Tatius; and, once more, he remained sole master of Rome.

(u) They are said to have been so called, *a ligandis reis*: the ax was for capital, the rods for smaller crimes.

(x) This festival was celebrated on the first of March. Ovid gives other reasons for this institution, viz. to obtain of Mars the blessing of bearing good children, a blessing which he first bestowed on Rhea Sylvia. During this festival, the Roman women that were married, served their slaves at table, and received presents from their husbands, as the husbands did from their wives in the time of the Saturnalia. This feast was the subject of Horace's ode,

*Martiis cœlebs quid agam calendis, &c.*

(y) The Camerini were the inhabitants of *Cameria*, or *Camerium*, a small city of Latium, in the neighbourhood of Rome; its situation is not known exactly, but is supposed to have been bordering on the country of the Sabines.

15. 16.

The Camerini  
are defeated.

A cruel plague makes great havock at Rome, and in the neighbouring territory; the cattle and the fruits of the earth are tainted with the infectious air; a great number of the inhabitants perish by famine and sickness. The Camerini take up arms, thinking this a favourable opportunity to shake off the yoke. They are defeated by Romulus, who returns triumphant to Rome, followed by a magnificent chair of brass, which he consecrated to the gods in the temple of Vulcan. This second triumph is marked by the capitoline marbles in the 16th year of Rome, and the first of August.

17.

This victory created him new enemies, who began to grow jealous of the progress of the Romans. The Fidenates (z) declared the first, and were beaten; their town was taken without any difficulty, and made a Roman colony. The inhabitants of Veii (r), the richest and most potent city in Etruria, reclaimed *Fidenæ*, as a city of Etruscan original; but after the loss of several battles, they were obliged to sue for peace. To obtain which, they yielded up to the Romans a district called *Septem Pagi* (s), with some salt-pits near the sea side. Romulus granted them a truce of a hundred years, and enjoyed the honour of a third triumph.

18. 19. 20. 21. &amp;c.

Greatly elated with such a number of victories, Romulus wanted to reign despotically over a people, whom the love of liberty alone had united under his command. Some authors pretend it was then he instituted a body guard of three hundred young horsemen, to whom he gave the name of *celeres*, to shew with what celerity and dispatch they ought to execute his orders. He affected to distinguish himself by a purple robe which he constantly wore, and by neglecting to consult the senate. If he went to their assembly, it seemed to be rather to give orders, than to receive advice. But what most of all provoked the fathers, was his restoring, of his own authority, the hostages whom the Veientes had sent to Rome, and who were kept there as a

(z) *Fidenæ* was a city of Latium, situate on the banks of the Tiber, not far from where the Anio empties itself into this river, about forty stadia from Rome. Dionysius calls it *πόλις μεγάλη τὴ καὶ πολυαίθερος*. Livy uses it in the plural, *his consulibus Fidenæ obsessæ*; and Virgil in the singular, *Æn. 6. Hi tibi Nomentum & Gabios, urbemque Fidenam*. There are some remains of it to be seen near the Tiber, two miles above the conflux of the Anio.

(r) *Veii*, a city of Tuscany, situated on a craggy rock, about one hundred furlongs from Rome. Dionysius Halicarnassensis compares it to Athens for extent and riches. The inhabitants are called Veientes and Veientani. Cluverius places it in the neighbourhood of the present *Scrofanò*. There are no vestiges of it to be seen. But Heulandus has been at a great deal of pains to prove against Cluverius, that it was situate on a steep hill, opposite to the Farnesian island.

(s) These were seven small towns situate on the Tiber; and the salt-pits were near the mouth of that river.

security.



security for the performance of their engagement : this last step they could not bear.

37.

Death of Romulus. Historians fix it to the 7th of July of this year : they say, that Romulus having appointed a review of his troops that day, at a place called the *Palus Capreae*, or *Goat's Marsh* (1), on a sudden arose a violent storm which dispersed the army. Romulus was left alone with the senators who attended him thither ; and, from that time, he appeared no more. The senators were justly suspected of having embraced this opportunity to get rid of a prince, who was become odious to them ; but they artfully imputed this disaster to the gods. They gave out, that in the midst of the tempest they had seen the king, surrounded by a flame, and suddenly snatched up into heaven. Julius Proculus, one of the senators, further made oath, that this prince had appeared to him, and assured him that the gods had admitted him into their order. From that time he was reckoned one of the Roman deities, by the name of *Quirinus* (2).

38. 39.

Rome continued above a year without a king. As Romulus had left no children, the throne, of course, was become vacant ; but the Romans and Sabines were alike ambitious of having a king of their own nation. To avoid anarchy and confusion, it was agreed, that during this interval, which was called an *interregnum*, the senators should take the government into their own hands ; that each of them should rule, in his turn, the space of five days, under the name of *interrex*, and enjoy all the honours of sovereignty. The people were soon tired of this kind of government, which gave them a multitude of masters, instead of one.

The senators, apprehensive of an insurrection, left the election of a king to the people, on condition that it was confirmed by the senate ; and the people, pleased with this condescension, remitted the choice to the fathers. To obviate all farther dispute, the Roman and Sabine senators drew lots, to determine who should have the right of election, and they, to whom the lot proved favourable, were to chuse a king of a different nation ; it fell to the Romans to chuse, and Numa Pompilius was elected.

40.

This man was in high reputation for his virtue and probity, and lived near the city of Cures, the capital of the Sabines. He had long led a solitary life, and was wholly taken up with the study of the laws

(1) A place in the neighbourhood of Rome. His death gave rise, according to Plutarch, to the *νόται καπγαλίαι*, the *nones of the goats*, or *populifugium*, that is, the flight of the people, a festival celebrated by the Romans, on the *nones* of July.

(2) Because he was the founder of the Romans, who, as we have already mentioned, had taken the name of *Quintiles* from the Sabines. His temple stood on the hill, which from hence was denominated *Quirinalis*, and is now known by the name of *Monte Cavallo*.

and

and the worship of the gods. His marriage with Tatia, the daughter of Tatius, who shared the sovereignty with Romulus, could not engage him to exchange his retreat for the honours which he might have naturally expected at Rome. And now to make him accept of the crown, his relations and countrymen were obliged to join their intreaties to those of the Roman ambassadors. Upon his arrival at Rome, Spurius Vettius, the *interrex* for the day, made the people elect him anew, and the senate confirmed the choice.

41. 42. 43. 44. &c.

Numa's  
laws, civil  
and reli-  
gious.

Numa had not the military abilities of his predecessor; but he shewed himself a great king merely by his civil virtues. The Romans, naturally fierce and untractable, wanted a check to moderate their warlike ardour; this Numa effected by inspiring them with a love of the laws, and reverence for the gods. A notion had been spread, that he lived in familiarity with the nymph Egeria. Of this persuasion he took advantage, to make the people believe that he did nothing without the advice of that nymph.

To give a stability to contracts, he erected an altar to *Bona Fides*, or *Good Faith*, in whose name those oaths, which they called *ex fide*, were to be taken. To render the boundaries of lands sacred and inviolate, he instituted a festival called *Terminalia*, in honour of the God *Terminus*, who presided there. Lastly, to shew how cautiously war ought to be entered upon, he consecrated a temple to *Janus*, a deity, whose double face seemed to be the symbol of prudence, which looks two ways, and considers what is past, and what to follow. This temple was to be open in time of war, and shut in time of peace; which it was during all Numa's reign. He contrived also another check to the military ardour of the Romans, by establishing heralds, called *feciales* (u), whose office it was to proclaim war; but not till they had demanded satisfaction, and used all their endeavours to bring about a reconciliation. The member of that body, charged with this deputation or embassy, was called *pater patratus* (x). It is said, that another office of the *feciales* was to accommodate disputes betwixt individuals, and to prevent their going to law; an office worthy, indeed, of those ministers of peace, and which seems to have properly belonged to their province, since war is no more than a suit between states, and differs from those between private persons, only as it is attended with greater mischief.

(u) Varro derives the word *feciales* from *fides*, because they had the care of the public faith. Others, on the same account, derive it à *federe faciendo*. Their original is said to have been more ancient than Numa; for Dionys. Halicarn. finds them among the *Aborigines*.

(x) Because he must have been one, who had a father and a son both alive, which implies a more perfect sort of a father, and as such they might think him to be the properest judge in matters of this importance. The learned have not determined, whether the *pater patratus* was a constant officer, or only a temporary minister, and elected upon a particular occasion.



But the master-piece of Numa's policy, was the distribution of the citizens of Rome into distinct bodies of tradesmen. Hitherto this city had been rent into two factions, in consequence of the distinction which still subsisted between the Romans and the Sabines, who had even their separate quarters. By this new regulation every man was naturally induced to lay aside all national prejudice, and to think only of pursuing the interest of that body or society into which he had entered. This is a fact which seems to contradict what Dionysius of Halicarnassus says, that Romulus would not allow freemen to follow any other profession than war and agriculture; unless we are willing to suppose that Numa, whose views were quite different from those of Romulus, suffered his subjects to practise what had been forbidden by his predecessor. The better to keep them constantly attentive to the culture of their lands, he divided them into *pagi*, or villages, and appointed inspectors or superintendents over them: he often visited their improvements himself, and gave preferments to those whom he found laborious and industrious.

He distributes the citizens into distinct bodies of tradesmen.

Among the regulations which this prince made in regard to religion, we may observe,

1°. The college of the *pontifices* (y); the *master* or *superintendent* of Pontifices, whom was called *pontifex maximus*. Numa thinking it was not right policy to separate the priesthood from the empire, invested himself first with this dignity. The privileges annexed to it were very considerable, as the *high priest* was legislator and supreme judge in all matters appertaining to religion.

2°. The college of the *flamines*, so called from the flame-coloured tufts on their caps (z) (*flameum*). These priests were confined to the worship of some particular gods. It is thought that Jupiter's priest, *flamen Dialis*, and the priest belonging to Mars, *flamen Martialis*, were instituted by Romulus, and that Numa only added a third, in honour of Romulus, who, as we have already mentioned, was deified by the name of Quirinus.

3°. The college of *vestals*, or virgins, consecrated to the worship of the goddess Vesta, and who had the care of several sacred things, especially the preservation of a fire which the Romans looked upon as sacred, imagining that the security of their state depended on the per-

Vestals.

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(y) A word of uncertain derivation, some taking it from *pons* and *facere*, because they first built the *Sublician* bridge at Rome, and were intrusted with the care of repairing of it; and others from *posse* and *facere*, where *facere* signifies the same as *offerre* and *sacrificare*. The first, though ridiculed by Plutarch, is the most received opinion.

(z) Plutarch makes it a corruption of *pilamines*, from *pilcus*, a sort of cap peculiar to the order. Others will have it a contraction of *flamines*, from *filum*, and tell us, that finding their caps too heavy, they bound a parcel of thread about their heads. The three instituted at first were *flamen Dialis*, *Martialis*, and *Quirinalis*. Their wives were called *flaminicæ*, and shared with their husbands the care of the sacrifices. See Gell. Noct. Att. l. 10. c. 15.



petuity of this fire (*a*). To these vestals the greatest honours were paid, so long as they preserved their virginity, and kept the sacred fire continually burning. The lictors carried the fasces before them, as before the king; they enjoyed the singular privilege of saving the life of a malefactor leading to execution, who might happen to fall in their way, provided they made oath that their meeting was merely accidental. On the other hand, the severest punishments were inflicted upon them, whenever they transgressed. If a vestal suffered the sacred fire to be extinguished, she was whipt with rods, the punishment of slaves; but if she broke her vow of virginity, she was buried alive, in a place allotted for that particular use (*b*). The worship of Vesta was introduced into Italy by the Trojans; but Romulus neglected it during his reign, fearing, as it is said, lest the slips which the vestals might happen to commit, should revive the memory of what befell his mother, Rhea Sylvia.

Salii.

4°. The college of the *salii*, or salian priests: these were twelve young Romans (*c*), whose office it was to take care of a brazen target, which Numa pretended to have been sent from heaven, as a safeguard to the Romans, so long as they preserved this precious deposit. He caused eleven other targets to be made exactly of the same dimensions and form, to the end that if any one ever attempted to steal it away, they should be confounded, not knowing how to distinguish the true from the counterfeit. These targets, to which, from their crooked figure, they gave the name of *ancilia* (*d*), were generally hung up in the temple of Mars; but in the solemn procession, which they performed every year in the month of March, the salians carried them on the left arm, and striking them with a sword, they danced and sang

(*a*) We meet with the sacred fire long before, and even in the time of Æneas, who is said to have brought it, together with the order of vestal virgins, from Troy. Ascanius, and his successors held this order in great esteem; for we find that Rhea Sylvia, the king's grand-daughter, was a vestal. If the fire happened to go out, it was thought impiety to light it at any common flame; but they made use of the rays of the sun. Every year, on the first of March, whether it had gone out or not, they lighted it anew. They had also the care of the famous Palladium, brought from Troy by Æneas. They were admitted between the years of six and ten, and were not said to be elected, but *captae*, taken, the *pontifex maximus* taking her that he liked, as it were by force, from her parents.

(*b*) And thence called *Campus Sceleratus*, as we are informed by Festus.

(*c*) Tullus Hostilius afterwards increased the college with twelve more salii; for distinction's sake, the twelve first were generally called *salii Palatini*, from the *mons Palatinus*, whence their procession began; and the other *salii Collini*, or Agonenses, from the *mons Quirinalis*, sometimes called *mons Agonalis*, where they had a chapel. Their entertainments on their solemn feasts were extremely expensive; hence Horace useth *dapes saliares*, for delicate meats, l. 1. od. 37.

(*d*) They were called *ancilia* from ἀγκύλη, which signifies a *crooked javelin*; or from the *cubit* (ἀγκών), that part of the arm between the wrist and the elbow, upon which they carried the *ancylia*.

verses



verses composed for this festival (e) : and it is from this dancing and leaping, that they took the name of *falii*.

5°. Last of all, the college of *augurs* (f), whose office it was to Augurs. foretel future events by the flying or chirping of birds, from the manner in which the sacred chicken would eat, and from the observations they made in the heavens. This ceremony was used almost on all public occasions : and Romulus and Remus observed it, when they were called to the regal dignity. It was likewise usual to consult the will of the gods, by inspecting the entrails of victims ; and the ministers appointed for these rites, were called *aruspices* (g).

To settle the order of sacrifices, it was necessary to regulate that of Numa re- the days and months of the year. Romulus reckoned only ten months, forms the and the year began in March ; but as this number neither agreed with calendar. the solar nor lunar course, Numa added two months, January and February, to the beginning of the year. It was he likewise that instituted the days called *Fasti & Nefasti*, on the former it was lawful for the judges to try causes, and for the people to hold their meetings, neither of which was permitted on the latter.

82.

Death of Numa. All historians agree, that this good king died la- Death of mented, not only by his subjects, but by the neighbouring nations, Numa. who flocked from all parts to celebrate his obsequies ; a kind of triumph which he really merited, since he contributed more to the happiness, than Romulus to the greatness, of the Romans. He was interred, contrary to the custom of that nation, which was to burn the bodies of the deceased : and he ordered all the books he wrote on philosophy and religion, to be buried with him. These books were afterwards found, in the year 573 of Rome, upon digging at the foot of the *Janiculum* (b) ; and, what will perhaps appear surprizing, they were

(e) These were called the *carmen saliare*, the original form of which was composed by Numa.

(f) Some derive the name of augurs *ab avium gestu*, from the motion of birds ; others *ab avium garritu*, from their chirping. Their number at first was three, Servius Tullus added a fourth ; five more were added in the year of the city 454, and Sylla made the number up fifteen. The *augurs*, who drew their observations from birds, were called *auspices ab avis & specio* ; he that was to make his observation from chickens kept up for this purpose in a coop or pen, had the name of *pullarius* ; if, upon throwing crumbs or corn to those chickens, they fed greedily, it was reckoned a happy omen ; but quite the reverse if they flew away, or scattered the food with their wings, or took no notice of it.

(g) *Ab aris inspicendis*, from looking upon the altars. The institution of soothsaying was borrowed from the Tuscans, and these received it, pursuant to ancient tradition, from a boy whom, in a strange manner, they ploughed up out of the ground, and who revealed to them the several mysteries of this art. See Cic. de Div. l. 2.

(b) One of the hills of Rome ; this, with two others of inferior note, was added, in later times, to the seven principal hills, which were mons Palatinus, Tarpeius, Quirinalis, Cælius, Esquilinus, Viminalis, and Aventinus. The Janiculum was so called, either



were publicly burnt by an order of the senate, for containing several things prejudicial to religion. Aurelius Victor positively assures us, that Numa's motives for establishing the Roman religion, as mentioned in those books, were found very trivial. It has been the opinion of several writers, that this prince acknowledged the existence of one only true God, whom he mentioned in his books; that he prohibited the representing of the deity under any corporal form; and that, in consequence of this prohibition, the Romans for upwards of a hundred and fifty years had no statues in their temples.

83. 84.

Interregnum,

The interregnum upon the death of Numa did not last long: during this period, the same form of government was established, as had obtained under the first interregnum. Here it is proper to observe, that this very form, and even the title of *interrex*, were preserved, under the republic, in the intervals between the election of magistrates.

Tullus Hostilius 3d king.

The Romans chose, for their third king, Tullus Hostilius, the grandson of Hostus, a man of wealth and power, who settled at Rome about four years after its foundation, and who was killed in a second engagement with the Sabines, after having merited, by his valour, that a pillar should be erected to his memory on the field of battle (g). The new king finding his own estate sufficient to maintain the regal dignity, generously distributed among his poorer subjects those lands, which were the demesnes of the crown.

85. 86.

His war with the Albans.

Tullus inherited all the courage of his grandfather, and only wanted an opportunity to display it. This soon offered, in consequence of some depredations committed by the subjects of Alba on the Roman territory. War is declared, and both armies take the field; but, instead of coming to an engagement, they agree that three champions shall be chosen out of each camp, to decide which of the two nations is to have the superiority. This step they were induced to take from a very urgent motive: they had received certain advice that some of the neighbouring nations (h) had taken post upon the mountains, to be ready to attack the contending armies, when weakened by a battle, and so to make an easy conquest of both Romans and Albans.

The combat of the Horatii and Curiatii.

The combat of the three *Horatii* against the three *Curiatii*, their cousin Germans, and friends. There are few but have heard of the stratagem by which one of the *Horatii*, who was left single against the three *Curiatii*, after they had killed his two brothers, decided the

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either from an old town of the same name, said to have been built by Janus; or because Janus lived and was buried here; or because it was a sort of a gate (Janua) to the Romans, from whence they issued out upon the Tuscans.

(g) He was the first that entered the breach at the taking of Fidenæ, upon which account Romulus rewarded him with a mural crown. This was the recompence conferred by generals on the person, who first scaled the walls of a besieged city.

(h) The Veientes and Fidenates.

cause



cause in favour of the Romans. As the three Alban brothers had received several wounds, which impaired their strength, and made them singly an unequal match for Horatius, he artfully retreated, as if he fled; then having separated them by this artifice, he turned short, and obtained an easy victory over them all successively. We meet in the Greek history (i) with an adventure much of this same kind, which has given reason to suspect, that either the Greeks or the Romans were ambitious to embellish their history with an exploit that belonged to a different nation. If the Romans only borrowed it from the Greeks, still it proves how far they carried the enthusiastic notion of glory. Horatius, upon his return to Rome, kills his sister for reproaching him with the murder of one of the Curiatii, to whom she had been betrothed. Hereupon he is condemned to death by the two commissioners, whom Tullus had appointed to try him (*duumviri*) and from their sentence he appeals to the senate. His punishment is changed, and he is condemned to *pass under the yoke*; but, at the same time, a trophy was erected to him in the forum, where the spoils of the three Curiatii were suspended. The yoke was a gate made of two spears, with a third laid cross them at the top, under which those who had surrendered themselves prisoners of war, were made to pass, bare headed, in token of subjection.

87. 88.

Metius Suffetius (k), with pain, beheld his country subdued by the Treachery of the three Curiatii; he therefore imagined he should be able to of Metius Suffetius. recover her liberty, by joining with the Fidenates, who had attempted, during the last war, to shake off the Roman yoke. Privately encouraged by this commander, they take the field, and advance to the neighbourhood of Rome, in conjunction with the Veientes their allies. Suffetius had promised to desert the Romans, and go over to the Fidenates and Veientes, in the midst of the engagement. He had not courage to keep his word, but proved a traitor alike to his masters and to his allies, by remaining a quiet spectator of the battle, which ended intirely to the advantage of the Romans. Never was victory more complete. The Fide- At the close of the battle, Suffetius, to cover his treachery, fell upon nates and the remains of the dispersed Fidenates and Veientes. Tullus pretend- Veientes routed. ed to give into the snare, though he had received intelligence of every thing from the prisoners. The next day he assembled the troops,

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(i) This was in a long war between two cities, Tegea and Pheneæ, when they came to an agreement, to refer the decision of the controversy, by combat, to three brothers on each side, the sons of Reximachus for Tegea; and for Pheneæ, the sons of Damostratus. Two of the sons of Reximachus were slain; but Critolaus, the third, under pretence of running away, divided his enemies and killed them all, one by one. Upon his return, his sister Demodice was not so well pleased; for she had been betrothed to Demodicus, one of the brothers that was slain. Critolaus, incensed at this behaviour, killed his sister; and being afterwards indicted for the fact, he was acquitted by his mother. *Plut. Parallels between the Romans and Greeks*; but this treatise is looked upon as spurious.

(k) By some he is called Suffetius.

under

under pretence of haranguing them: Suffetius, and his accomplices, were arrested, by the king's orders, in the middle of the camp; the accomplices were put to the sword, and Suffetius was torn in four quarters.

**Destruction  
of Alba.**

**Destruction of Alba.** The inhabitants of this city had not as yet heard of what passed, when they were surprized by a Roman army under the command of young Horatius. He had orders to demolish the city; and not one public or private edifice, except the temples, was spared. The Albans are transplanted to Rome; some of their principal families are incorporated with the patricians, and the knights; the rest are distributed among the curiæ.

89. 90. 91.

The Fidenates revolt again.

92. 93.

**War with  
the Sabines.**

**War with the Sabines (b),** which procures the honour of a second triumph to Tullus Hostilius: his first was after the defeat of the Fidenates and Veientes. We have already taken notice, that the Sabines united with the Romans in the reign of king Tatius; but part of this nation still continued independent; and it is these we mean in this place.

94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100.

Tullus summons the Latin towns, which had been dependent on Alba, to submit to Rome. Their refusal is followed by a war, which lasted several years, but was not pushed on with vigour; the Romans, not chusing to destroy a people, whom they considered as their subjects. During this whole war, we find only the town of Medulia (c), which, for having attempted to shake off its subjection to the Romans, to whom it submitted in Romulus's time, was rendered incapable of another revolt.

(b) It was occasioned by the insults, which the Sabines had offered to some Roman citizens, at the temple of the goddess Feronia, which stood at the foot of mount Soracte, upon the banks of the Tiber. The goddess Feronia presided over forests and gardens, and is supposed, by some, to be the same with Flora or Proserpine. Her temple was frequented by the neighbouring nations, and a fair was annually kept near it. The battle, which ended this war, was fought in the neighbourhood of Eretum, a town about thirteen miles from Rome (now monte Eretundo), when Tullus, having made a vow to institute, on the same day, a festival in honour of Saturn and Ops, gained a complete victory. This festival was kept in the month of December, under the name of *Saturnalia* and *Opalia*: servants had, at this time, a right of being served by their masters, of wearing their cloaths, and reprimanding them for their faults.

(c) A small town of Latium, belonging to the Sabines; but the situation of it is not easy to ascertain. Livy commends the fortifications of this place.



PARTICULAR REMARKS.

**T**HE origin of empires is generally embellished, or rather disguised with fables. I thought it my duty to take no notice of those which are told of Romulus and Remus, the founders of Rome: *There were kings at Rome, there were consuls, there were decemvirs, says a celebrated writer: The people of Rome destroyed Carthage, Cæsar vanquished Pompey; all this is true: but when they tell you, that Castor and Pollux fought for this people; that a vestal, with her girdle, set a vessel on float, which before was aground; that a gulf was closed as soon as Curtius jumped into it; do not believe a word of it.* They who tell us that Romulus and Remus were condemned to be thrown into the Tiber, at the instigation of Amulius, who had usurped the throne of Alba from their grandfather Numitor; that the person entrusted with this inhuman office, was satisfied with exposing them in a wooden trough on the river Tiber, with an inscription declaring the circumstances of their birth; that this wooden trough was fortunately left safe on the strand; that a she-wolf, hearing their cries, came up and suckled them; that at length Faustulus, the chief of the king's shepherds, received them into his cottage, and afterwards took care to have them educated as princes; they, I say, who tell us such wonders, do not deserve more credit. Away with such idle fables: let us leave them to those shallow understandings, who have no relish for history, but when dressed in the disguise of romance; and who look upon the marvellous as the only sublime.

The Roman history has charms enough of its own, without having recourse to foreign embellishments. We are amazed at the low beginnings of that people, when compared to the high pitch of grandeur, which they afterwards acquired. We are eager to discover the causes of this surprizing progress; we are inclined to attribute it to the very genius of the founder of Rome, and of the primitive Romans, as well as to the circumstances under which this empire was founded; and, upon inquiry, we shall find ourselves not at all mistaken.

At the time when Romulus and Remus laid the foundation of Rome, Italy abounded with a great number of petty states, many of which consisted only of a single fortified town, and a few neighbouring fields. To form a settlement of this kind, might have been the utmost ambition of two young princes, that had no other force or support than a few herdsmen and adventurers, who followed their fortune. Their aim might have been to build a town, and not to found an empire. But Romulus carried his views a great deal farther. After he had acquired the sole command over his little colony, by killing his brother, he set his mind upon increasing his power, and extending the limits of his dominions.

C

A little



A little country town, surrounded with a ditch and a wall of no manner of strength, and filled with mean, irregular huts, was, in appearance, a contemptible object; but Romulus's ambition made him view this little town in a nobler light, and consider these thatched houses, as the foundation of a lasting city. He was in hopes that Rome, by a constant exertion of her strength, might not only be considerably improved, but gradually subdue all her neighbours, and become mistress of Italy. Even the feeble condition of this city seemed to him, in some measure, to presage the grandeur and power which she was one day to acquire. Fortune delights in befriending those, who expect nothing but from her hands, and from their own endeavours. Besides, we are apt to have no distrust of the impotent; we despise, we neglect them; not considering that they are continually upon the watch, ready to take advantage of our security, of our indolence, or our mistakes, in order to raise themselves upon our ruins. No doubt but Romulus often made these reflexions, and thereon he founded part of his hopes. Every thing shews him to have been a profound politician. Who can but admire his notion of opening an asylum in his little town; an artifice which had luckily the effect, not only of increasing the power of Rome, but also of diminishing that of his neighbours? Who can help being surprized at the means he used to procure women for his subjects, that wanted the commerce of the sex, not only to soften and polish their manners, but likewise for the purpose of propagation? When the neighbouring nations refused to marry their daughters to the Romans, Romulus might have undertaken to oblige them to it by force of arms; but he would have run the risk, either of miscarrying intirely, in case of any unprosperous stroke of fortune; or of seeing an affair procrastinated, that admitted of no delay; and perhaps his kingdom would have ended with the original inhabitants of Rome. The union which this prince devised between the two principal bodies in the state, by establishing the right of patronage; and his prudence in making friends and Roman citizens of all his vanquished enemies, are sufficient to give us an high idea of his profound and extensive policy. But what chiefly characterizes the genius of this founder of the most celebrated empire in the universe, is his forbidding the Romans to follow any other occupation than that of arms and agriculture: the liberal arts were left to slaves; a plain proof that he did not think so much of contributing to the happiness, as to the power and grandeur of the Romans.

The first inhabitants of Rome were a very proper people to promote the views of their founder. A multitude of young adventurers, free booters, fugitive slaves, insolvent debtors, and criminals, who escaped from punishment, and fled to him for refuge, were not so desirous of repose, as of new adventures: they looked upon Romulus not as their king, but as their chief and general; they considered Rome not as a town where they were to live in subjection to a monarch, and to laws, but



but as a camp, where they might have a conveniency for making excursions into the neighbouring country, and exercising their usual depredations. Romulus must have been pleased to see the bold and martial spirit of his people. War was the only way for him to procure riches, and dominions. Far from checking this martial spirit, it was his interest to excite and encourage it. There would have been an end of Rome, had he been satisfied with keeping its first inhabitants in a state of inaction. Either they would have quickly dispersed, each to return to his original manner of life; or, for want of an opportunity of exercising their activity on external objects, they would have destroyed themselves at home, by arming to their mutual destruction. Neither was it less dangerous, to assume too absolute an authority over them. Romulus should not have forgot, that the reason of their submitting to his command, was their aversion from dependance and subordination: either he forgot, or did not sufficiently attend to this circumstance, which was the cause of his untimely apotheosis.

Of all the successors of Romulus, Numa is the only one who did not busy himself in military pursuits. He was more capable of governing, than of founding a state. His whole ambition was to reign peaceably over a people, whose manners he wanted to soften by the great number of religious ceremonies which he instituted, and which were very readily embraced by the Romans. The familiarity which this prince pretended to have with the nymph Egeria, gave a great sanction to his institutions, and flattered the Romans, who were ever a superstitious people, from the same cause that made them fond of military glory. Their pride and their vanity induced them easily to believe, that the gods watched, in a particular manner, over the safety of their empire; and that they were destined to command other nations. Such a persuasion would have been alone sufficient to make them perform great feats; and no doubt but Numa's successors took particular care to confirm them in this notion, so proper to raise their martial ardour. This we see by the conduct of Tarquin the Proud, who persuaded them that a human head, which was found at Rome upon digging the foundations of a temple, foreshowed that this city was designed by heaven to be one day the head and mistress of Italy.

What might not have been expected from a people full of such notions of future grandeur; a people who, of course, were strangers to any other than military glory; and who, moreover, were indebted to a chain of circumstances for the increase of their empire? Had Rome been surrounded by powerful states, she would have continued in her original impotence and obscurity. What probability was there, that she would ever have laid the foundations of her own greatness on their ruins? What probability, that she could have formed so wild a design? No plan can be deemed reasonable, if there is not a certain proportion between the cause, and the effect; now there is no doubt, but

in the supposition we are here making, there would be an intire disproportion. But we observed before, that at the time of the foundation of Rome, Italy was only an assemblage of petty states; a body formed of an infinite number of parts, ill connected, and ill put together. In those days they had no idea, at least in Italy, of that equilibrium of power, which has since been the object and study of governments. The policy of those remote times did not reach so far. Nations looked on with indifference, while their neighbours were overrun by other powers; not reflecting, that to be neuter or inactive on those occasions, was lending arms against themselves, and suffering an enemy to acquire such strength, as must overpower them in the end. True it is, that we see a few instances of petty alliances against the Romans, formed by the people of Italy; but, either they were all quickly dissolved; or they were ill concerted, and worse supported; or, in short, their endeavours proved fruitless. Italy should have formed more powerful associations; the whole country, indeed, should have armed against Rome, or must have expected to be one day obliged to submit to her laws.





## S E C O N D C E N T U R Y.

Year of Rome 101. 102. 103. 104. 105. &c.

Before Christ 653. 652. &c.

**T**HE Sabines revolt: this war is terminated by a complete victory, which Tullus obtains over that nation near the forest known by the name of *the Malefactors* (a). The Sabines  
overthrown.

109.

Historians relate, that this year it rained stones on the hill of Alba, and that a voice from heaven had been heard there, commanding the Albans to resume their ancient religious ceremonies. In the Roman history we meet with frequent instances of the like prodigies; though, certainly, they were nothing more than natural events, which, by priest-craft and superstition, were declared to be of a miraculous kind. Tullus ordains expiatory sacrifices for nine days (b). And, from that time, it became customary to employ nine days in making their peace with heaven, as often as they were terrified with the like prodigies. Roman su-  
perstition.

110. 111. 112.

The plague is felt at Rome. Tullus is attacked with a lingering disorder, which throws him into the most shameful superstition.

113.

Death of this prince, who perishes with his whole family. Some historians pretend, that upon his attempting to perform a magical sacrifice, and not observing the proper ceremonies, the god, to whom he was sacrificing, expressed his indignation by destroying him, with his wife and children, by lightning. Others, with greater probability, suspect that he was killed by Ancus Martius, Numa's grandson, who succeeded him in the throne. In the opinion of the latter, the palace was set on fire by Ancus, who expected to be chosen king, in case this prince died without issue; which accordingly happened. Death of  
Tullus.

114. 115. 116.

Ancus, though an usurper, seemed to have some virtues, and particularly he affected to tread in the footsteps of Numa, his grandfather by the mother's side (c). The first years of his reign were Ancus Mar-  
cius 4th  
king.

(a) It had probably served as a retreat to robbers.

(b) These were the *novendiales feriae*.

(c) His mother's name was Pompilia, his father's Marcius, son of that Marcius, at whose persuasion Numa accepted of the kingdom. The Romans, generally speaking, had three names, the *prænomen*, answering to our Christian names, but not imposed till the assuming the manly gown; the *nomen*, shewing the family from which they sprung; and the *cognomen*, to distinguish families, and express some particular occurrence. For instance, Marcus Tullius Cicero. But this is to be understood only of the *ingenui*, or free born; for, as to the slaves, they had no other name than what they borrowed from the *prænomen* of their masters, as *Lucipor*, i.e. *Lucii puer*, or the slave of Lucius. We are told, that Marcius took the name of Ancus from ἀγκυρ, because he had a crooked arm.

spent in restoring the old religious ceremonies, and in promoting agriculture.

117.

War with the Latins. The breaking out of the war with the Latins. These people had violated the treaty concluded with Tullus, imagining they had to deal with such a pacific prince as Numa; but a dear-bought experience convinced them of their error. *Politorium* (*d*), a Latin city, was no sooner attacked than taken, and the inhabitants were transplanted to Rome.

118.

The Latins repeopled Politorium: Ancus takes this city a second time, sets fire to it, and demolishes the walls.

119. 120. 121.

All his enterprizes are crowned with success. *Medulia* and *Ficana*, which had been taken by the Latins, are reduced for ever under the obedience of Rome. After several engagements, in which the Roman army had always the advantage, the Latins were no longer able to keep the field: Ancus took a great number of them prisoners, and transplanted them to Rome.

122. 123. 124. 125. &c.

He enlarges the city of Rome.

Such a multitude of new inhabitants obliged the king to enlarge the city of Rome, by carrying the walls round the Aventine hill. This city, which originally stood only upon mount Palatine, had already increased its circumference with three hills more, namely *mons Tarpeius*, called at first *Saturnius*, and afterwards the Capitol, where the Sabines were settled; *mons Quirinalis*, where Numa first erected a temple to Romulus, by the name of Quirinus; *mons Caelius*, which had been given to the Albans for their quarter; and now it took in *mons Aventinus*, which was assigned to the Latins. It is thought, that about this same time the Romans inclosed also the hill *Janiculum*, which stood on the other side of the Tiber, on a spot belonging to the Tuscans; but, at that time, it continued separate from the city, and served as a sort of citadel.

The walls of Rome are surrounded with a ditch, called *Fossa Quiritium*, because all the people were employed in this important fortification (*e*).

(*d*) The exact situation of Politorium, and Ficana, is obscure and uncertain; all we know is, that they were Latin cities, and not far from the mouth of the Tiber.

(*e*) He likewise built the bridge *Sublicius* over the Tiber, where it washes the foot of mount Aventine. The above word is derived from the piles on which it stood; that being the signification of *publica*. It was the first bridge built over the Tiber, or perhaps in Italy; neither iron nor copper were made use of in building it; but it was afterwards made of stone by the prætor Æmilius Lepidus, and was broke down by an inundation of the Tiber, under pope Adrian I.



## *Eminent and learned men.*

Alceus, a native of Mitylene, in the isle of Lesbos, flourished in the 44th olympiad.

He excelled in lyric poetry; and it is from him that alcaic verse took its name.

Arion, a native of Methymne, in the isle of Lesbos.

This poet, the inventor of dithyrambic verse, was also an excellent musician, if we may judge from what we are told of the powerful effects of his lyre. He lived towards the thirty eighth olympiad.

Cleobulus of Lindus, one of the seven sages, died towards the fifty fifth olympiad.

He travelled into Egypt, to learn philosophy of that nation.

Draco lived in the thirty ninth olympiad.

This celebrated legislator of the Athenians, enacted such severe laws, that they were said to have been written in blood.

Periander of Corinth, the tyrant of his country, and one of the seven sages.

There are few crimes with which this man has not been charged. Yet Greece has placed him among her sages, because he was a very great politician. He was born in the twenty ninth olympiad, and died in the forty eighth.

Pittacus of Mytilene, one of the seven sages, died the third year of the fifty second olympiad.

His countrymen conferred the supreme power upon him, which he accepted only for a limited time. He left them some laws penned in verse: and thus were most things written, that tended to the instruction of mankind.

Sappho, a celebrated lady of Lesbos, lived at the same time as Alceus.

The few fragments left of her writings, afford us reason to judge more favourably of her wit, than of her morals. The verse called Sapphic took its name from her.

## *Cotemporary princes.*

### *Kings of Judah.*

Manasseh, 641

Ammen, 640

Josiah, 600

Jehohahaz. This prince, after a reign of three months, is carried prisoner into Egypt by Pharaoh Necho.

Eliakim or Jehoiakim. In his reign the Jews are sent captives to Babylon, by Nebuchadnezzar the Great. This captivity lasted seventy years: Jehoiakim is dethroned in 599

Jeconiah, after a reign of three months, is transported to Babylon.

Zedekiah or Mattaniah reigns till 587

Nebuchadnezzar takes Jerusalem, and destroys the temple; and appoints Gedaliah governor of Judaea.

### *Kings of Egypt.*

#### *Anarchy.*

Psammetichus having ascended the throne towards the year 670 before J. C. died towards 616

Nechus, 600

Psammuthis, 594

Apries, 575

Psamtis, 569

Amasis,

### *Kings of Assyria.*

Sardanapalus. This is the Nebuchadnezzar mentioned in *Judith*. 648

Chynladan or Sardan, 626

Nabopolassar, the Nebuchadnezzar mentioned in *Tobiah*, 605

Nebuchadnezzar the Great, 565

Evilmerodach, 562

Nabonadius or Belshazzar.

### *Kings of the Medes.*

Dejoces, the first king of Media, died towards the year 657

Phraortes, the Arphaxad mentioned in *Judith*, 635

Cyaxares, the Abasuerus mentioned in *Tobiah*, 595

Astyages, the Abasuerus mentioned in *Esdras*, and Darius the Mede in *Daniel*, reigns by himself till 560

130. 131.

First in-  
stance of  
taking a  
town by sap.

The Fidenates revolt a third time. Ancus makes himself master of their city by a stratagem, which is thought to be his own invention; at least, this is the first time of its being mentioned in the Roman history. He dug a subterraneous way from his camp to the city; after which he commanded an escalade, in order to draw the enemy upon the walls; while his sappers made a passage, and got into the city, where they opened the gates to the besiegers.

132. 133. 134.

Congiararia.

To this very time we may refer the foundation of the port and city of Ostia, at the mouth of the Tiber. By this step, Ancus opened a communication with the sea, and paved the way for new conquests. He likewise caused many salt-pits to be dug on the sea shore, and made a gratuitous distribution of the first product thereof among his subjects. These largesses, which were called *congiaria*, from the word *congius*, a measure in use in ancient Rome, became customary in process of time; and the same name was continued to all distributions, of corn, oil, &c. among the people.

135. 136. 137. 138.

War with  
the Veientes,  
the Volsci,  
and the Sa-  
bines.  
Death of  
Ancus.

The peace which Ancus had rendered so profitable to his subjects, was followed by a bloody war. The Veientes, the Volsci (*f*), and the Sabines successively felt the weight of the Roman arms. Ancus enters Rome in triumph.

He dies, and leaves the tuition of his children to Tarquin, who was chosen his successor. Tarquin was of Greek extraction, but born at *Tarquini* (*g*), a town of Etruria, from whence he took the name of Tarquin. His ambition, supported by immense riches, induced him to come to Rome, where fortune raised him to the regal dignity, for which he was extremely well qualified. So greatly did he distinguish himself in the reign of Ancus Marcius, that he was thought worthy of being appointed his successor. It is observed, that Tarquin was the first who introduced into Rome the custom of canvassing publicly for offices. In order to strengthen his party, and to reward such as had served him on this occasion, he created a hundred new senators, whom he chose out of plebeian families, and who were therefore called senators of the second order (*b*), *patres minorum gentium*, to distinguish

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(*f*) The Volsci were a people of Latium, whose capital was Anxur, now Terracina; their country reached from *Antium* to the river *Liris*.

(*g*) It stood at a little distance from the sea, upon the Marta, which, at present, retains its ancient name. Its ruins are still extant, at a small village about a mile north of Corneto, and still called *Tarquini*.

(*b*) They were also called *patres conscripti*, to signify their being added to the former members; though, in process of time, this appellation was given to the whole body. This addition raised the number of senators to three hundred; Sylla made them above four hundred; and Julius Cæsar nine hundred; but a reformation was effected by Augustus, and the old constitution revived. The right of



<i>Eminent and learned men.</i>	<i>Cotemporary princes.</i>								
<p>Solon, one of the seven sages, was born at Athens in the thirty third olympiad, and died in the fifty fifth.</p> <p>This sage abolished Draco's laws, and substituted others of a milder nature in their stead ; he made no laws against parricide, because he did not think that mankind could be guilty of such a crime. He wrote orations, elegies, and iambic verses.</p> <p>Thales, one of the seven sages, a native of Miletus, a city of Ionia,</p> <p>This Thales was a philosopher, poet, and astronomer, and founder of the Ionic sect ; he wrote several treatises in verse, and foretold that famous eclipse of the sun, which frightened the armies of Cyaxares king of Media, and Alyattes king of Lydia, to such a degree, that they were obliged, all of a sudden, to give over fighting. In those days, one would think that they ought not to have been surprized so much at eclipses, as to see a man who could predict them. Thales died very old, towards the fifty eighth olympiad,</p>	<p><i>Kings of Macedonia.</i></p> <table> <tr> <td>Argeus,</td> <td>640</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Philip I.</td> <td>602</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Æropas,</td> <td>576</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Ahetas.</td> <td></td> </tr> </table> <p><i>The Lacedæmonians are governed by kings, whose age and names are uncertain.</i></p> <p><i>The Athenians are governed by annual archons.</i></p> <p><i>The kingdom of Corinth becomes a republic towards</i> 582</p> <p><i>The kingdom of Tyre is destroyed by Nebuchadnezzar the Great towards the year</i> 572</p>	Argeus,	640	Philip I.	602	Æropas,	576	Ahetas.	
Argeus,	640								
Philip I.	602								
Æropas,	576								
Ahetas.									

guish them from those of ancient creation, who were stiled senators of the first order; though their authority was intirely equal. The senators were, for many ages, fixed to this number of three hundred.

140.

War with  
the Latins.

The war is renewed with the Latins. The town of *Apiolæ* (*i*) is taken and plundered. Tarquin did not transplant the conquered to Rome, as his predecessors had done, in order to make Roman citizens of them; but he sold them for slaves. Finding that the several nations in the neighbourhood of Rome were disposed to revolt, he determined to intimidate them by an example of severity.

141.

*Crustumerium* and *Nomentum* (*k*) dare not persist in their revolt; but open their gates to the conqueror of *Apiolæ*, and, surrendering at discretion, are obliged to receive Roman colonies.

142.

*Collatia* (*l*) is subdued by Arunx Tarquin, the king's nephew, who, upon this occasion, takes the name of Collatinus, which he transmitted to his posterity.

143.

The town of *Corniculum* (*m*) is taken and reduced to ashes.

144. 145.

The Latins  
defeated.

Tarquin obtains a complete victory over an army of the Latins; several cities, alarmed at the rapidity of his conquests, submit to the Romans.

naming the senators, which at first belonged to the kings, and afterwards to the consuls, with the approbation of the people, was engrossed, at last, by the censors; and he who stood first in their list, was dignified with the title of *princeps senatus*. No person was capable of the senatorial dignity, that had not an estate of eight hundred sestertia, and had borne some magistracy: the age required, according to Dion Cassius, was five and twenty.

(*i*) A town of the Latins, of uncertain situation; Pliny mentions, that Tarquin the Proud began to build the capitol, with the pillage of this place. Lib. 3. c. 5.

(*k*) A town of the Sabines in Italy, not far from the Tiber, and built by the Albans, as we find hinted by Virgil, *Æn.* 1. 6. *Illi tibi Nomentum, & Gabios, urbemque Fidenam*, puta, hi Albani, condent. It is now called *Lamentana Vecchia*. Strabo commends the Laban waters in this neighbourhood, τὰ Λάβανα ἰδαία ἐν τῇ Νομιστῶν, which, at present, are not known to have any salubrious quality. The road from hence to Rome, is often mentioned in historians by the name of *Via Nomentana*. The *Allia*, famous for the defeat of the Romans by the Gauls, was also in this neighbourhood; Holstenius takes it to be a rivulet, which runs into the Tiber between the farms of St. Columba and St. John, a little beyond Marcigliano, and about eleven miles from Rome.

(*l*) A town of the Sabines, on the borders of Latium, of which there are no vestiges remaining. Holstenius places it beyond the conflux of the Osa and the Anio; but Cellarius thinks it was not above five miles from Rome. From Virgil it appears to have been situated upon a hill, *Illi Collatinas imponent montibus arces*, *Æn.* 1. 6.

(*m*) A town of the Sabines, bordering on Latium, situate between the Tiber and the Anio; it was rebuilt after this misfortune, for Florus takes notice of it under the republic, lib. 1. c. 11.



146.

General assembly of the Latins. These people, sensible at length of the necessity of uniting, and of the mistake they had committed in not taking this resolution at the beginning of the war, sent ambassadors to the Sabines and the Hetrurians, and entered into an offensive and defensive alliance with those nations. So long as Alba stood, there the Latins held their national assemblies; but this city having been destroyed, as we have above mentioned, they met at *Ferentinum* (*k*), a town situated at the foot of the mountain Albanus (*l*).

147.

The Latins, being assured of these powerful succours, lay waste the Roman territories: Tarquin marches against them with a force equal to theirs: both armies meet; some slight skirmishes ensue, which bring on a general engagement, and the Romans remain masters of the field of battle.

148.

The Hetrurians fly to the assistance of their allies, and meet with the like fate.

149.

This second victory strikes a terror into all Latium. The Latins have recourse to the mercy of the conqueror, the only refuge left. Tarquin offering to lay siege to those towns which had refused his alliance, they all immediately opened their gates. He grants a peace to them, on condition that they make satisfaction for the damages done to Rome, and that the Latins shall serve the Romans with their troops, whenever they are commanded to march.

150. 151. 152. 153. 154.

Tarquin triumphs over the Latins. The spoils he had taken in the conquered cities, he employs in building a circus between the Aventine and Palatine hills. This was a place designed for exhibiting the shows of chariot races, as well as of boxing. These were called the *great games*; and it is thought, that from thence came the name of *Circus Maximus*, which was given to this particular building. It was repaired, embellished, and enlarged at different times, and contained a hundred and fifty thousand men in their proper seats (*m*).

155.

(*k*) A small town of the *Hernici* in the *via Latina*; its ruins still bear the name of Ferentino.

(*l*) Distant twelve miles east from Rome; it is now called *Monte Cavo*.

(*m*) The name *circus* some derive from *circulus*, part of it being built in that shape; and others, from the seven rounds which the chariots were obliged to make about the posts at each end. At the entrance of the *circus* stood the *carceres*, or lists, whence they started; and, just by them, one of the *metae* or marks, the other standing at the further end. The length of it was four stadia or furlongs, the breadth the like number of acres. It was so enlarged, in Pliny's time, as to contain 260,000 spectators. The *great games* were so called, because they were celebrated in honour of the great

155.

War with  
the Hetru-  
rians.  
Lucumonies.

War with the Hetrurians, undertaken in consequence of a resolution of the twelve lucumonies; they take possession of *Fidenæ*, and ravage the Roman territory a whole year. The twelve lucumonies (*m*) were so many cantons, of which the whole Etruscan nation was composed; each of those cantons was subject to a chief, who bore the name of *lucumo* (*n*).

156.

Tarquin was not able to oppose the enemy till the beginning of this year: willing to proceed with caution, he applied to all his allies for succours, and was not disappointed in his expectations, though it cost him some time and trouble.

157. 158. 159. 160.

The Hetru-  
rians sue for  
peace.

The Sabines join the Hetrurians. Collatinus was defeated before *Fidenæ*; but the king had his revenge, on the other hand, by ravaging the neighbourhood of *Veii* and *Cære*, and carrying off a considerable booty. Then he falls upon *Fidenæ*, makes himself master of the town, and destroys it. The Sabines and Hetrurians are defeated more than once, after a most obstinate resistance. The Hetrurians sue for peace, and submit to the sovereignty of Rome: for which the senate decree Tarquin a triumph. Rome had never beheld so magnificent a spectacle. Tarquin appeared in a gilt chariot, with a crown on his head, a sceptre in his hand, besides other ornaments, which had been sent to him by the Hetrurians, as a mark of their acknowledging him for their sovereign (*o*). This prince had the modesty not to make use of

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great gods, viz. Neptune, Jupiter, Juno, Minerva, and especially the *dii penates* of Rome. We must not confound them with the *ludi megalenses*, which were in honour of Cybele, who was stiled *μεγαλήσια*, or the great goddess. Besides the chariot races, the circensian plays included five other sports, borrowed from the Grecian games, and called the *pentathlon* or *quinqwertium*, viz. running, wrestling, leaping, throwing, and boxing. The throwing was performed with a *discus*, or quoit of stone, brass, or iron. The boxing is worth notice on account of the *cæstus*, which was a kind of leathern guard for the hand, commonly filled with lead or iron, to give force to the blow. This Circus Maximus stood in the *Myrtian valley*, so denominated from a temple built in that place to Venus, who was surnamed *Myrtea*.

(*m*) Their names were *Volturni*, *Clusium*, *Cortona*, *Perusia*, *Aretium*, *Falerii*, *Tarquini*, *Volaterræ*, *Rusellæ*, *Vetulonium*, *Cære*, and *Veii*.

(*n*) In the Etruscan language, the word *lucumo* is supposed to have denoted a warrior or captain: over the whole a king presided, who seems to have been elected by the twelve.

(*o*) The other ornaments were a throne of ivory, a tunic embroidered with gold, and adorned with figures of palm branches, and a purple robe enriched with flowers of various colours. The abovementioned tunic is what the Romans distinguished by the name of *tunica palmata*, which was properly a vest worn under the robe, or *toga picta*, by those who triumphed. The Romans wore also the *tunica laticlavata* and *angusticlavata*; the former was adorned with purple flowers, stuck like heads of nails, and belonged only to persons of the first rank; the latter had purple flowers, smaller than the others, and



of them, till the senate and people expressed their consent by law: however, he was so pleased with this pageantry, that he never after appeared in public without it. Several, even ancient writers, mention this triumph of Tarquin, as the first that was seen at Rome; this, perhaps, is because it bore no resemblance to those that had been exhibited before that time, and it served as a pattern to those that followed; and, indeed, it may be said that Tarquin was the first who made the Romans forget their primitive simplicity.

161. 162. 163. 164. 165. &c.

This is further corroborated, by the sumptuous works which he undertook at Rome, during the interval of his rest from war. He re-beautified. built the walls of Rome in a magnificent manner, surrounded the forum with galleries, and adorned it with temples, as well as with halls for the administration of justice, and for public schools. Pliny, who lived eight hundred years after Tarquin, speaks with admiration of the beauty of the *cloacæ* or common sewers, which he built at Rome, Cloacæ, to purify the city from its filth, and to carry off the waters descending from the hills within the walls.

168.

Of the three nations that had entered into a confederacy against Rome, the Sabines were the only people whom Tarquin had not yet subdued: he attacks them; but victory does not declare, as yet, in his favour. Finding that the enemy's resistance was owing to their superiority of horse, he increases his cavalry to eight thousand men. His war with the Sabines.

169. 170.

After several bloody defeats, the Sabines submit, and Tarquin obtains another triumph. The Sabines submit.

171.

He causes a spot to be consecrated on the Tarpeian hill, in order to erect a temple, in consequence of a vow which he made during this war. It is incredible, how greatly this sort of public vows of the Roman generals, raised the courage of their troops. Hence they never failed to have recourse to this expedient in the most perillous conjunctures. Romulus, finding himself hard pressed by the Sabines, made a vow to build a temple to *Jupiter Stator*; and it had such an effect, as to make his troops rally, after they had given way through fear. Tullus Hostilius, on a like occasion, made a vow to increase the number of *falii*, and to dedicate a temple to *paceness* and *fear*; and he had the same success. Thus the Romans were equally superstitious and

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was worn by persons of the equestrian order. The *clavi*, according to the most general opinions, were studs or purls something like heads of nails, of purple or gold, worked into the tunic. The *toga* was a long mantle hanging in great folds down to the ground, which they put upon their right shoulders, throwing one lappet of it over the left. It was called *pieta*, from the rich embroidery, with figures in Phrygian work; and *purpurea*, because the ground-work was purple.

brave;

brave; nothing could withstand them, when they imagined they heard the voice of religion and glory.

172. 173.

Tarquin is accused before the people, by the sons of Ancus Martius, of having secretly murdered Accius Nævius (*p*), a celebrated augur, and who, on that account, was held in great veneration by the Romans. The slander is discovered; and Tarquin forgives his accusers.

The punishment of Pinaria the vestal, who was convicted of having broken her vow of virginity. It is thought that, on this occasion, a law was passed, which condemned the person, that dishonoured a vestal, to be whipped to death. Tarquin adds two vestals to the four, instituted by Numa; and they were ever after fixed to the number six.

174.

Death of  
Tarquinius  
Priscus.

Death of Tarquin the Elder. This prince is assassinated by two miscreants, whom the sons of Ancus had hired for that intent. Queen Tanaquil, apprehending the intrigues of those princes, who aspired to the throne, conceals the death of her husband for a few days, and makes the public believe, that the wounds he had received were not mortal. Servius Tullius, his son-in-law, charged with the administration of justice during the king's pretended illness, summons the sons of Ancus to appear before his tribunal; they save themselves by flight; their estates are confiscated, and their memory is stigmatized.

175.

Servius  
Tullius 6th  
king.

Servius Tullius succeeds his father-in-law. This was the time for making a fortune at Rome; when men of merit had reason to entertain the most sanguine expectations; as we are fully convinced, by the history of this prince. He was born a slave; his mother, Ocrisia, was one of the captives whom Tarquin the Elder brought with him from *Corniculum*, after the taking of that city. Her beauty destined her for the king's palace, where she was brought to-bed of this son; and she gave him the surname of Servius, as a mark of the servile state in which he came into the world. He soon distinguished himself by his great qualities, notwithstanding the obscurity with which fortune had disguised his birth: by a gradation of employments, he attained to the rank of a senator; and having married his sovereign's daughter, he afterwards succeeded him in the throne.

176. 177. 178.

Servius was not elected in form: he seized the crown, as guardian to the two young princes, Lucius and Arunx, grandsons of the elder

(*p*) Nævius gained his reputation by cutting a whetstone in two, with a razor, in the king's presence. Tarquin, who had expressed a contempt for augury, was seized with admiration, and erected a statue of brass to his memory in the comitium. The razor and flint were buried under an altar, at which witnesses were afterwards sworn in civil causes.



Tarquin. The senate took umbrage at this proceeding; but he despised their murmurings. He secured the suffrages of the plebeians, by an artful speech, in which he represented to them, that hitherto they had been only victims to the ambition of the patricians; and that, as he had heretofore experienced the stings of outrageous fortune, it behoved him, more than any other person, to protect the weak, and to assist the unfortunate. He promised to pay the debts of those, who being in a state of insolvency, were in danger of seeing themselves sold as slaves to satisfy the demands of their creditors; and, moreover, he engaged to furnish some portion of lands to such as had not partaken of the agrarian distributions. He was as good as his word; for he paid all the poor debtors bills with his own money.

179. 180. 181.

In regard to the lands, the war, which soon followed, with the revolted Etrurians, enabled him to fulfil this part of his engagement. Tullius took the field, came up with them, and gained a complete victory; the Veientes, who had been the instruments of this revolt, were severely punished, by the confiscation of their estates, which Servius distributed in the manner he had promised.

182.

The capitoline marbles mention Servius's first triumph this year; it was decreed him for having defeated the Veientes.

183. 184.

Servius takes advantage of this circumstance in his favour, to get himself elected by the people, at a meeting of the *curiæ*.

185. 186.

The senate refuse to ratify the election. Servius triumphs a second time over the Etrurians.

187. 188. 189. 190.

He incloses the hills Esquilinus and Viminalis within the limits of the city. Then it was that Rome began to bear the name of *Septicollis* (the city built on seven hills).

He added a fourth tribe to the three originally instituted by Romulus. It is proper here to observe, that from this first division into three, was derived the name of tribe, and hence came that of *tribunes*, which, at first, was applied only to military officers, but was afterwards given to several sorts of magistrates, who had great authority in the republic. Dionysius of Halicarnassus relates, that, on this occasion, Servius made a very useful regulation, which was, that upon the birth of every child, a piece of money should be paid into the temple of *Juno Lucina*; another, upon every death, into the temple of the goddess *Libitina*; and another into the temple of Youth, as soon as the youths put on the *toga virilis*, or the manly gown; that is, when they came

came to man's estate (*q*). By these different pieces of money, which were preserved, they could tell, every year, the number of citizens, and especially such as were able to bear arms.

191. 192. 193. 194.

The country people were likewise divided into fifteen classes or tribes, which, joined to the original four, made nineteen; but this number was afterwards increased. Before Servius's time there were but few villages in the territory subject to Rome. The people lived in houses detached from one another, and erected buildings on that spot of ground, which each person had undertaken to cultivate. By this division, Servius formed a strong hold to each tribe, where they had their peculiar temple, their tutelary god, and their magistrates. These served also as places of refuge, where the peasants might secure their effects and their persons, in case of any sudden alarm. It was ordained likewise, that the whole tribe should repair to the village on certain festivals (*r*); and that they should, all of them, pay into the hands of the priest, a different piece of money, according to their age and sex. They were afterwards counted; and thus the levies were made for the army, and taxes laid on the country inhabitants.

195. 196.

Servius marries his two daughters to the grandsons of Tarquin the Elder.

197. 198. 199. 200.

He triumphs a third time over the revolted Etrurians, after a war which lasted several years.

There is room to think, that Servius did not make the regulation, which is looked upon as his master-piece of policy, till he had intirely subdued Etruria.

He institutes  
the census.

As no public resolution had been hitherto taken, in regard either to war or peace, but by a plurality of votes at the assemblies of the people, which were called by *curiæ*, because they were to consist only of the inhabitants of Rome, divided into thirty *curiæ*; thence it followed, that the plebeians, who were the major part, generally carried their point in all debates against the senate and patricians. Servius undertook to remedy this disorder, and to transfer the whole authority to the noble and wealthy. With this view, he made a general list of the citizens of Rome, that is, a list containing an account of their age, effects, profession, the name of their tribe and *curia*, with the num-

(*q*) That is, when they came to the age of seventeen, and then they left off the *prætecta*, which was a white robe, reaching down to the ancles, bordered with purple, and worn by persons of distinction, as well as by young people. Besides the *prætecta*, children wore about their necks, or at their breasts, an ornament called *bullæ*, which was made in the shape of a heart, and hollow within; after their 17th year, it used to be hung up to the household gods. The rich had it made of gold, the poor of leather.

(*r*) These strong holds he called *pagi*, and the festival *paganalia*.



ber of their children and slaves; this account they delivered in by themselves upon oath, and was called *census*; and the magistrates, who presided, on this occasion, after the kings and a few consuls, had the title of *censors*. According to the enquiry then taken, it appeared that there were upwards of fourscore thousand citizens in Rome, able to bear arms. Servius afterwards divided the citizens into six classes, and each class into a certain number of centuries. The first class consisted of senators, patricians, and knights, who fought on horseback, and were the wealthiest citizens: the second was composed of those who were next to the preceding in fortune and estate; in like manner, the third; and so on.

The first class, which was the least numerous, he divided into ninety eight centuries; the second into twenty two; the third into twenty; the fourth into twenty two; the fifth into thirty; the sixth and last, the most numerous, had only one century; consequently there were a hundred and ninety three in all.

After this regulation, Servius ordained, that all public offices, which were heretofore conferred indiscriminately upon every citizen, should now be borne by the first hundred and ninety two centuries: the last was declared free from all civil and military contributions, and they who composed it, were, for this very reason, called *exempti*; they had likewise the name of *proletarii* (s), to signify that they were designed purely to stock the commonwealth with subjects. He ordained further, that the people should henceforward be assembled by centuries, when matters of any consequence were to come upon the carpet; that the assemblies should be held without the town, in the *Campus Martius*; that the suffrages should be collected by centuries, and not by heads, as before; and that the ninety eight centuries of the first class should vote first. The assemblies by *curiæ* were no longer to be held, except for the election of the flamines and subaltern magistrates; as also, for form's sake, when the military command (*imperium*) was to be conferred on such as had been already raised to magistratical offices by the votes of the centuries.

These new institutions were generally approved; and, indeed, each party found their account in them. When there was occasion to raise taxes, or to levy troops, each century was obliged to pay a certain sum, or to furnish a certain number of soldiers, whom it maintained at its own expence: as the first class alone had ninety eight centuries, of course it bore the greatest part of the burden; the four classes following had a less share; and the last felt no weight at all; so that the lower sort of people were extremely easy. But, on the other hand, the rich were made ample amends; and the poor had less weight and influence, than before. As the centuries of the first class had a right to vote first, they alone could form a majority; or, at the most, the affair was carried to the second class: but they seldom went so far as the third.

(s) From *proles*, children.  
D



## ROMAN ANNALS.

Servius caused a solemn sacrifice to be offered up in the *Campus Martius*, to purify all the troops that had been assembled by classes and by centuries, pursuant to the new division. This ceremony was to be renewed every five years, at each enumeration or census, and was called *lustrum* (*t*), that is, *expiation* or *purification*, and from thence came the Roman custom of computing time by *lustrums*, each consisting of five years.

## PARTICULAR REMARKS.

**N**OTWITHSTANDING that the Romans had been two hundred years under a regal government, they still continued to preserve that spirit of independence, which had been their first introduction to grandeur; a spirit transfused from father to son, and communicated to the several nations with which Rome became afterwards united. Human characters are generally determined by education and habit.

The spirit of depredation, which peopled Rome with the greatest part of her original inhabitants, must, in the nature of things, receive a change; it became the spirit of conquest. Robbers, who found a state, who form themselves into a society, under the direction of laws (for all societies must have some laws) and who, of consequence, are capable of conducting their enterprizes, not only with regularity and order, but even with a kind of dignity; such men are no longer robbers, but conquerors. True it is, that this distinction will not stand the test of reason, which sees only a nominal difference between them; except in the case of conquests made by just reprisals, or to assert a legitimate right.

The Romans, so early as the times of their kings, would fain be independent at home, and sovereigns abroad. Romulus, though extremely fond of power, was obliged to let their comitia (*u*) enjoy the right of appointing magistrates, of making war or peace, and of confirming, or repealing laws. His successors either durst not, or could not abridge those rights, by which their subjects were possessed of almost every privilege that constitutes the supreme authority. But po-

(*t*) Varro derives *lustrum* a *luendo*, from paying; because, on that day, every one paid his quota of the tax laid on his century. The sacrifice, on this occasion, consisted of a sow, a sheep, and a bull; and from thence was called *suovotaurlia*.

(*u*) The *comitia* were an assembly of the people for chusing officers, or making by-laws. They were of three sorts, *curiata*, *centuriata*, and *tributa*, according to the three grand divisions of the people, into *curiæ*, *centuries*, and *tribes*: the *comitia*, *calata*, from *καλέω* or *calo*, to *call*, signifies all the *comitia* in general. The power of calling these assemblies, belonged first to the kings only, and after their expulsion, to most of the chief magistrates: none but those who lived in the city, had right to vote there. The place, in which they assembled, was the *comitium*, a part of the *forum Romanum*, where stood the *rostra*, a sort of pulpit, adorned with the beaks of ships taken, in a sea-fight, from the inhabitants of Antium. The word *comitium* is said to be derived from the obsolete verb *cumire*, to meet.



licy has sure resources, the more so as they escape the vulgar eye. The kings, without alarming a people so jealous of their independence, found two methods to strengthen, and to extend the regal power.

The first of these, was the establishing of the nobility, or patricians ; the author of which, as the reader may have observed, was Romulus. Nothing could be more useful to a nation, than a senate, designed to temper the authority of the prince ; but Romulus, by investing the senators and their descendants with the exclusive right to civil, military, and sacerdotal dignities, produced so great an inequality between that order and the commons, that it was impossible but they must have a diversity of views, sentiments, and interests, which proved favourable to the royal authority. The king might have hopes of gaining an absolute ascendant over those two orders, by making a proper use of the divisions, which their mutual emulation must needs create between them. Romulus took care to reserve to himself the right of nominating senators ; and the Romans never had the least thought of contesting a prerogative, in appearance so small, with a prince who had granted so many privileges to his subjects. Yet the kings derived an immense advantage from thence, for there were always a number of staunch courtiers, in proportion as there were candidates for that honourable distinction.

The institution of the famous classes, subdivided into centuries, was the second method contrived by the policy of the Roman kings, to extend their power. This was owing to one of the best princes that sat upon the throne of Rome, to Servius Tullius ; a prince so much the more capable of commanding, as he had long been used to obey. Besides the infinite advantages that might follow from so noble a regulation, either in regard to war, or to the administration of the revenue, as we shall have occasion to observe hereafter more at large, there were two very singular uses relative to the present form of government. The one was to deprive the plebeians of any share in the administration, and to convey the whole power secretly to the senate and the patricians. Since Rome must be governed by one or other of these two orders, better by far it should be by the nobles, whose education rendered them fitter for the employment, and whose fortunes produced a greater connection between them and the state. The other advantage was still more considerable. As the prince had it in his option to convene, either the comitia by centuries, which left all the authority to the patricians ; or, on the contrary, to summon the comitia by tribes and by *curiæ*, which restored it again to the plebeians : it is natural to imagine, that he had it in his power to give what impressions he pleased to those two bodies ; because the patricians dreaded nothing so much, as to see the plebeians possessed of the administration ; and the latter, on their part, had the same apprehension of the patricians. That such an institution should have been made by so moderate a prince, who, in some measure, was the founder of the republic, formed, as we shall see, on his plan, and on his memoirs ;



has been the surprize of many. To do justice to Servius, there is reason to believe, that being convinced there is no medium between a pure monarchy and a government intirely republican, he thought it incumbent upon him to prefer the former, for the benefit of his people. Before he was their sovereign, he had been their fellow-subject; and of course he had an opportunity to study their inclinations, and to sound their necessities. He chose not what was most agreeable, but most useful to them; fully resolved, however, to consult experience as he proceeded, and to sacrifice his crown, should it be necessary, to the public good.

Yet the very best institutions require some time to produce their effect. Towards the close of this century, the commons of Rome still enjoyed the different privileges, which Romulus had been obliged to resign to them.

But it was not enough for this haughty, this enterprizing nation, not to obey, they looked upon themselves as designed by Providence to command. The whole discipline and policy of the state had a reference to this single object. We do not find, that the Romans had any inclination to make use of the permission granted them by Numa to cultivate the arts: if they did not intirely neglect, they continued, at least, to despise them, and left the exercise thereof to foreigners, or even to slaves. They themselves, in those early times, followed only two professions; agriculture, through necessity; and war, through inclination. “ They lived, says the abbé de Vertot, on their grain, “ which they gathered, sword in hand, in the enemy’s territories. “ The Romans, from the senator down to the meanest plebeian, “ were all husbandmen, and every husbandman was a soldier. Some- “ times they took great captains from the plough, to command their “ armies. People of the first rank in the republic, accustomed their “ children to the same hardships; they brought them up in a labo- “ rious way of life, in order to render them more robust, and more “ able to endure the toils of war.” The reader may see, in the second chapter of Montesquieu’s *Considerations on the Romans*, what relates to the manner of training up their soldiers; and in the sequel of this history, we shall have occasion to observe how far they carried the military discipline, and the art of war. Here I shall only take notice, with the above celebrated author, that not only the soldiers were obliged to perform their exercises in their camp; but, moreover, there was a place at Rome (the Campus Martius) where the citizens used themselves to every manly exercise, that could improve their strength and agility; that whenever they thought the state in danger, or wanted to repair a signal defeat, they began with restoring the military discipline; in fine, that they were ever ready to adopt such useful customs, as they happened to observe among their enemies: so that, as Josephus says, *war was to them a study; peace a continual exercise* (x).

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(x) *De Bello Judaico*, lib. 2.



Notwithstanding so much care and pains, the Romans had made but very little progress in extending their dominions: they met with a long and obstinate resistance on the part of their neighbours; a resistance, however, which ought to be considered as one of the principal causes of the exorbitant pitch of power to which they afterwards arrived. The long, and almost uninterrupted wars, in which they were for two hundred years engaged against all their neighbours, and in which they fought such a number of desperate battles, must needs have improved that military disposition, which constituted the essential part of their character, and have qualified them for the most arduous undertakings. “Rome ever exerting her offensive force, says the author of the Considerations, and ever meeting with opposition, made her neighbours feel her power, before she could extend it; and though confined to a narrow compass, *she was exercising herself in virtues, that were to prove one day fatal to so many nations.*” The same author accounts for the slow progress of the Romans. “The people of Italy, he says, had no knowledge of machines proper for sieges; besides, as the soldiers had no pay, they could not be kept long together before a place; hence few of their wars were decisive. They fought for the sake of plunder; after which, the conqueror and the conquered retired to their respective homes. This is what caused the resistance of the people of Italy, and at the same time, the obstinacy of the Romans in subduing them; this is what gave so many victories to the latter, which did not corrupt their morals, but left them in full possession of their poverty.”

This poverty seems to have been in itself ignominious, since it was the consequence of a barbarous contempt for the arts and sciences, which are capable of occupying individuals with amusement to themselves, and benefit to society: but the Roman pride made it a virtue. Perhaps it was so really in respect to them; for it was become necessary to a state, that pretended to raise itself only by violence, and that had no other wealth than the spoils of its neighbours. If this love of poverty had ceased to be in esteem among the Romans, they would quickly have applied themselves to the useful professions, and to the culture of the polite arts, which cannot be improved to a certain degree, without some knowledge of natural philosophy and the mathematics, from whence they are all derived. The Romans, growing learned and industrious, would have grown effeminate, that is, their manners would have been softened: they would have lost that ferocity, which made them view the property of strangers, as the only object worthy of their desires; they would not have been so eager in the pursuit of those horrid lawrels, which were stained with the blood of nations, and bathed with the tears of humanity.

## THIRD CENTURY.

*Years of Rome* 201. 202. 203. 204.

*Before Christ* 553. 552. 551. 550.

**Dii compitales.**

**S**ERVIVS institutes, in favour of slaves, the feast of the *dii compitales*, or the gods of the cross-ways, which are said to be the same as the household gods, called *larcs*. The day on which this feast was kept, viz. soon after the *Saturnalia*, the masters gave leave to their slaves to rest from all labour. Servius, though seated on the throne, still remembered his original condition.

205. 206. 207. 208. 209.

He gives the freedmen the privilege of Roman citizens. The senate opposed this regulation, at first; but at length they consented to their being divided into four tribes within the city, which four tribes, for this reason, were ever afterwards held in less esteem than the others.

210. 211. 212. 213. 214.

Servius commits the cognizance of private suits to the senate.

**Alliance betwixt the Latins and the Romans.**

Treaty of alliance betwixt the Latins and the Romans. They build at their joint expence, upon the Aventine hill, a temple sacred to Diana, where they were to meet every year, in order to offer up sacrifices, to determine all disputes in an amicable manner, and to promote a commercial intercourse between both nations. The articles of this treaty, engraved on a pillar of brass, were to be seen in Augustus's time, in the Latin tongue, but in Greek characters, which Dionysius of Halicarnassus looks upon as a proof, that the Romans were of Greek original.

215. 216. 217. 218.

Servius is said to have formed a design of abdicating the crown, and of reducing Rome to a republican government, administered by two annual magistrates, who should be chosen at an assembly of the people. Livy and Dionysius Halicarnassensis take notice of a memorial which was found among the papers of this prince; and in which the particulars of this scheme were drawn out at full length. But the wicked intrigues of his family did not allow him time to put it in execution.

219.

**Servius is murdered**

He is assassinated by order of his son-in-law, Lucius Tarquin, and his daughter, Tullia the Younger. This wicked woman had already poisoned Arunx Tarquin her husband, and Tullia her eldest sister, wife of Lucius Tarquin, to whom she wanted to be married, because she found him a man according to her own heart, a man determined to enter into all her criminal and ambitious projects. Those crimes were



CONSULS.	Years of Rome.	Before J. C.	Eminent and learned men.	Cotemporary princes.
Lucius Junius Brutus. L. Tarquinius Collatinus. <i>To them were substituted</i> Publius Valerius Publicola. Spurius Lucretius Tricipitinus. <i>And after the latter</i> M. Horatius Pulvillus. P. Valerius Publicola. 2 <sup>o</sup> . Titus Lucretius. P. Valerius Publicola. 3 <sup>o</sup> . M. Horatius Pulvillus. 2 <sup>o</sup> . Sp. Lartius Flavius. T. Herminius Aquilinus. M. Valerius Volesus. P. Posthumius Tubertus. P. Valerius Publicola. 4 <sup>o</sup> . T. Lucretius Tricipitinus. 2 <sup>o</sup> . P. Posthumius Tubertus. 2 <sup>o</sup> . Agrippa Menenius Lanatus. Opiter Virginus Tricoftus. Sp. Cassius Visullinus. T. Posthumius Corninus Auruncus. T. Lartius Flavius. Servius Sulpitius Camerinus. Manius Tullius Longus. P. Veturius Geminus. T. Ebutius Elva. T. Lartius Flavius. 2 <sup>o</sup> . Quintus Clælius Siculus. Aulus Sempronius Atratinus. M. Minutius Angurinus. A. Posthumius Albus. A. Virginius Tricoftus. Appius	244      245  246   247  248  249  250  251  252  253  254  255  256  257	510      509  508   507  506  505  504  503  502  501  500  499  498  497	Anacreon, a lyric poet, born at Teos in Ionia, flourished in the sixty second olympiad. This poet, by his songs of festivity and love, created a new kind of writing, in which there is room to think he will ever be unrivalled. We have seen a vast number of Anacreontics; but we shall hardly ever see a second Anacreon. Bias of Priena, one of the seven sages, lived in the fifty eighth olympiad. He wrote upwards of two thousand verses upon Ionia. It is related, that the inhabitants of Priena having all betaken themselves to flight, upon being menaced with a siege, he went out with the rest, but empty handed, saying, that he carried his all along with him. Chilo the Lacedæmonian, one of the seven sages, lived in the fifty ninth olympiad. This sage is said to have died of a transport of joy, embracing his son, who had been crowned at the olympic games. He had therefore reason to say, that we ought not to be too desirous of any blessing. This is one of his sentences remaining. Confucius, the most celebrated Chinese philosopher.	<i>Kingdom of Judah.</i> Cyrus having made himself master of Asia, published an edict, whereby he permits the Jews to return to their country, to rebuild the city of Jerusalem, together with their temple, to worship their God there, and to carry away then effects with them. They return, to the number of about fifty thousand, under Zerubbabel, son of Salathiel, taking with them the vessels of the temple which had been transported to Babylon, in the reign of Nebuchadnezzar. After this restoration, the Jews formed themselves into a republic, and were governed by their own laws; but the high priests had a principal share in the administration. Jeshua, son of Josedec, is made high priest, the very year of their return . . . . before J. C. 536 They begin to rebuild the temple of Jerusalem. The jealousy of the Samaritans is the cause of its being interrupted. Daniel has a vision, wherein God reveals to him the revolutions of the principal empires, namely, that of the Persians, that of Alexander the Great and his successors, and that of the Romans. 534

were only preparatory to a parricide, which was committed with all the circumstances of unparalleled cruelty. Upon meeting in the *Vicus Cyprinus* (t) with the body of her father, which was still panting, just after he had been assassinated, she ordered her charioteer to drive over him, so that he was trampled to death under the horses' feet: this street ever after had the name of *Vicus Sceleratus*.

Vicus Sceleratus.

Servius Tullius, affected by the vicissitude with which his life was chequered, erected a number of temples to Fortune, under different titles, *Fortuna Virilis*, *Fortuna Obsequens*, *Fortuna Privata*, &c. It is a moot point, whether he had more reason to thank or to curse that fickle goddess. It is observed, that Servius was the first king of Rome that stamped any image on his coin: the figure of a sheep impressed on it, was the occasion of giving it the name of *pecunia*, which was afterwards applied to all other money. Such, however, is the opinion of some authors; others pretend, that as all property in those early days consisted of cattle, and as commerce was carried on by the delivery of the things themselves, from thence was derived the word *pecunia*.

Pecunia.

220. 221.

Tarquinius Superbus  
7th king.

Tarquin seizes the throne by violence, and without any form of election. He gets rid, under different pretences, of the greatest part of the senators, and the wealthy citizens. M. Junius, the tyrant's uncle by his wife, is involved, with his whole family, in the general proscription; but Junius, one of his sons, escapes the massacre, by counterfeiting madness: this is what gained him the name of *Brutus*, which he afterwards rendered so illustrious, by the expulsion of Tarquin, and his family. The surname of *Superbus* was given to Tarquin, because of his cruelty and pride.

222. 223.

Feriae Latinae.

Tarquin strengthens himself with the alliance of the Latins, by marrying his daughter to Mamilius, a person of the greatest interest in that nation. Renewal of the treaties with those people: on an hill, near the ruins of Alba, a temple is erected to *Jupiter Latialis*, for holding the assemblies afterwards known by the name of *Latia*, or *feriae Latinae* (u). The consuls never took the field, or went to the provinces, unless they had first visited the temple of *Jupiter Latialis*, and celebrated the *feriae*, which they appointed to be held upon any day they pleased.

224. 225. 226.

War with the Volsci.

War with the Volsci, for having insulted the Latins. Tarquin was pleased with this opportunity of gaining the affections of his people,

(t) Or the *Good Street*, which, according to Varro, is the signification of the word *cyprus*, in the old Sabine language.

(u) Their annual meeting was on the 27th of April.



C O N S U L S.	Years of Rome.	Before J. C.	Eminent and learned men.	Cotemporary princes.
Appius Claudius. P. Servilius Priscus. A. Virginus Tricoftus. 2°.	258 259	496 495	He flourished towards the year 541 before Christ: and he has been extolled as much by the Europeans, as by his countrymen. The Europeans were surprized to find, that there were philosophers in former times in a country so remote from those parts, which had been long considered as the only seat of learning and knowledge. Æschylus, a Greek poet, who died in the seventieth olympiad. He was the first improver of tragedy, which had been invented by Thespis. It was he that ascertained its principles; that taught the actors to use the vizard, and the buskin; and that first built a stage ..... <i>Personæ pal- laque repertor honestæ Æschylus, &amp; modicus instravit palpita tignis. Et docuit magnamque loqui, nitteque cocturno,</i> says Horace in his Art of Poetry. Æschylus wrote ninety seven plays, of which there are only seven left, and these not entire. Æsop of Phrygia, a province of Asia, lived towards the year 550 before J. C. He is the well-known author of those ingenious fables, which contain so beautiful a moral, that they have served for the instruction of the whole globe.	The second year of the reign of Darius, son of Hystaspes, the Jews obtained leave from that prince to resume the building of the temple, 520 The building of the temple is finished by Zerubbabel, and by the high priest Jeshua, the 3rd day of the month Adar, which answers to the 10th of March. The feast of the dedication is kept, the priests and Levites are restored to their functions, and the passover is celebrated there the 18th of April, 516 Jehoiakim or Eliakim is elected the second high priest, after the return from the captivity, in 488 The seventh year of the reign of Artaxerxes, surnamed Longimanus, Esfias, the son of Sarah, of the priestly race of Phineas, and one of the principal Jews that remained at Babylon after the deliverance, obtained leave from that prince to return to Jerusalem, in order to finish the restoration of the Jewish religion and government, in 458
T. Veturius Geminus. T. Posthumius Cominius Auruncus, 2°. Sp. Cassius Viscellinus. 2°.	260	494		<i>Kings of Egypt.</i> Amasis, 526 Psammenitus, 525 Cambyses, 523 Smerdis the mage, 522 Darius Hystaspis, 486 Xerxes, 465 Artaxerxes Longimanus.
T. Geganius Macerinus. P. Minucius Augurinus. M. Minucius Augurinus. 2°. A. Sempronius Atratinus. 2°.	261 262	493 492		
Q. Sulpitius Camerinus. Sp. Lartius Flavius. 2°. C. Junius. P. Pinarius Rufus Mamercinus.	263 264	491 490		
Sp. Nautius Rutilus. Sextus Furius Fufus. T. Sicinius. C. Aquilius.	265 266	489 488		
Sp. Cassius Viscellinus. 3°. Proculus Virginus Tricoftus. Q. Fabius Vibulanus. Servius Cornelius Cos- sus.	267 268	487 486		
L. Emilius Mamercinus. Cæso Fabius Vibulanus. M. Fabius Vibulanus. L. Valerius Poplicola Potitus.	269 270	485 484		
Q. Fabius Vibulanus. 2°. C. Julius Julius. Cæso Fabius Vibulanus. 2°.	271 272	483 482		
Sp. Furius Fufus. M. Fabius Vibulanus. 2°. Cn. Manlius Cincin- natus.	273	481		
Cæso				He

and giving marks of his prowess. The town of *Suessa* (x) is taken by storm, and plundered.

227. 228.

**The Sabines subdued.** Tarquin has the same good success against the Sabines, who had lately revolted. He defeats their armies, and obliges them to pay tribute to Rome.

229.

Historians take notice of two triumphs of Tarquin the Proud, without mentioning the time. It seems they ought to be referred to this year, when he returned to Rome, after having defeated the Volsci and the Sabines.

230. 231. 232. 233. 234.

He finishes the common-sewers, and the great circus at Rome, which his grandfather had begun : but this creates new complaints against him, for obliging the populace to work at those structures with short allowance.

235. 236. 237. &c.

**War against the Gabini.** War against the Gabini, which lasted seven years, and was ended, at length, by a base piece of treachery. Gabii (y) was a strong city of Latium, in the neighbourhood of Rome ; where most of the discontented senators and patricians had taken refuge, with a view of giving all the disturbance they could to Tarquin. Sextus Tarquinius, in concert with his father, pretends to be one of the malecontents, and goes over to Gabii, where, in a very short time, he gains the intire confidence of the inhabitants ; in short, he is made general of their army : this gives him an opportunity of opening the gates to his father, who grants him the sovereignty of that place. Tarquin then entered into a treaty with this city, which treaty was still to be seen at Rome in Augustus's reign, in the temple of *Jupiter Fidius*, otherwise *Sancus* or *Sanctus*, that is, the god of fidelity. The articles thereof were written on a shield made of the hide of an ox, sacrificed on that occasion. Foundation of two new colonies, the one at *Signia* (z), and the other at *Circæum* (a), by *Titus* and *Arunx*, the sons of Tarquin. These two cities were properly situated for keeping the Volsci within bounds.

(x) This was *Suessa Pomertia*, one of the most flourishing cities of the Volsci. The name of *Pomertia* distinguished it from another *Suessa* beyond the *Liris*, called *Suessa Auruncorum*. The former stood between *Cora* and *Velitrae*, and from it the neighbouring marsh was called *palus Pomertina* or *Pomptina*. Virgil uses it in the plural number, *Pometis, castrumque Inui, Bolamque Ceramque*. *Æn.* lib. 6.

(y) Gabii was situate in the mid-way between Rome and *Præneste*, about ten miles from each. It is mentioned by Virgil, *Æn.* lib. 6. *Hi tibi Nomentani, & Gabios, urbemque Fidenam*.

(z) A town of Latium, now called Segni ; according to Sil. Ital. it was famous for rough wines ; *spumans immiti Signia musto*, lib. 8. and Martial mentions their stopping the flux, *Potabis liquidum Signina morantia ventrem*, l. 13. epig. 116.

(a) A promontory on the Tyrrhenian sea, now called *Monte Circelli*.



CONSULS.	Years of Rome.	Before J. C.	Eminent and learned men.	Cotemporary princes.
Cæso Fabius Vibulanus. 3 <sup>o</sup> .	274	480	He had the art of making all beings talk reason, and of rendering it intelligible even to children. Myson, a native of Chene, near Sparta, lived in the year 587 before J. C.	<i>Kings of Assyria.</i> Nabonidus or Belshazzar, 552
T. Virginius Tricoftus. L. Emilius Mamercinus. 2 <sup>o</sup> .	275	479		Darius Medus, or Astyages, king of the Medes, 536
C. Servilius Structus. C. Horatius Pulvillus. T. Menenius Lanatus.	276	478	By some he is reckoned one of the seven sages, or wise men of Greece. Diogenes Laertius relates, that Anacharsis, the Scythian philosopher, having consulted the oracle, in order to know who was wiser than himself, he received for answer, that Myson was. Anacharsis travelled to see this wise man, and found him busy in mending his plough, in order to go to work in the fields.	Cyrus becomes master of all Asia.
Sp. Servilius Structus. A. Virginius Tricoftus. C. Nautius Rufus.	277	477		<i>King of the Medes.</i> Astyages reigns with his grandson till the year 536
P. Valerius Publicola. L. Furius Medullinus. C. Manlius Vulfo.	278	476	Publius (or Sextus) Papirius, a Roman civilian, author of the Papirian code. Several authors are of opinion, that Papirius made his codex in the reign of Tarquin the Elder. But M. Teraſſon, in his history of the civil law of the Romans, has demonstrated, that this collection was not made till the reign of Tarquin the Proud. The Papirian code contained all the regal laws: but there are only thirty six remaining, which have been explained and illustrated by M. Teraſſon. From what has been said, it follows, that Papirius flourished	<i>Persian empire.</i> Cyrus, 529
L. Emilius Mamercinus. 3 <sup>o</sup> .	280	474		This prince, on whom God bestowed all the kingdoms of the earth, as it is expressed in the book of Esdras, was possessed of Assyria, of the kingdom of Babylon, Media, Persia, Syria, and finally of Lydia, which he seized, towards the year 548, after having defeated Cræsus, and taken him prisoner.
P. Vopiscus Julius Julius. <i>Or</i> Opiter Virginius. L. Pinarius Rufus Mamercinus	281	473	Tiberius Emilius Mamercinus, 284	Cambyſes, 523
P. Furius Fusus. Appius Claudius. T. Quintius Capitolinus Barbatus.	282	472		Smerdis the mage, 522
L. Valerius Publicola Potitus. 2 <sup>o</sup> .	283	471	T. Quintius Capitolinus Barbatus. 285	Darius, son of Hyſtaſpes, 486
Tiberius Emilius Mamercinus.	284	470		Xerxes the Great, 476
A. Virginius Tricoftus. T. Numicius Priscus.	285	469	Q. Servilius Priscus. 286	Artaxerxes Longimanus.
T. Quintius Capitolinus Barbatus. 2 <sup>o</sup> .	286	468		<i>Kings of Macedonia.</i> Alcetas, 547
Q. Servilius Priscus. Tiberius Emilius Mamercinus. 2 <sup>o</sup> .	287	467	Quintus Fabius Vibulanus. 288	Amyntas I. 497
Quintus Fabius Vibulanus.	288	466		Alexander I. 454
Q. Servilius Priscus. 2 <sup>o</sup> .	289	465	S. Posthumius Albus. 290	<i>The Lacedæmonians are governed by kings, of whom but very little is known.</i>
S. Posthumius Albus.	290	464		<i>The Athenians are governed by annual archons.</i>
T. Quintius Capitolinus. 3 <sup>o</sup> .	291	463	Quintus Fabius Vibulanus. 291	
Quintus Fabius Vibulanus. 2 <sup>o</sup> .	291	463		
A. Posthumius Albus. Sp. Furius Medullinus. L. Ebutius Elva.	292	462	P. Servilius Priscus. 293	
P. Servilius Priscus.	293	461		
L. Lucretius Tricipitinus.	294	460	T. Veturius Geminus. 295	
T. Veturius Geminus.	295	459		
P. Vo-				



The Sibylline books.

The Sibylline books are brought to Rome by an unknown woman (b). These pretended oracles, which were supposed to contain prophecies touching the fate of the Roman empire, were entrusted to the care of several citizens of distinction, and afterwards locked up in a vault, under the temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus*.

242.

The temple of Jupiter Capitolinus.

This year Tarquin undertook to finish this famous temple. We have already taken notice, that Tarquin the Elder had marked out the area where he would have a temple built, on the top of the Tarpeian hill; but was prevented by death from going on with it. His grandson thought it his duty to execute this design, and ordered the foundations to be laid. As the workmen were employed in digging, they found a human head (c) very deep in the earth, and the blood of it seemed to be quite fresh. Hereupon the augurs were consulted, and they artfully made answer, that this head presaged, that Rome would be, one day, the head and mistress of Italy: from thence both the hill and the temple took the name of Capitol. The augurs had been consulted before upon a more delicate point. The Tarpeian hill was already possessed by several deities, who were to be removed to some other place, in order to make room for the new temple; but then their consent was wanted. The god Terminus and the goddesses *Youth*, were the only deities that insisted upon not removing. From this pretended obstinacy, it is easy to see, that the whole was only a trick of the augurs, who would make the Romans believe, that Rome should preserve a perpetual bloom, and that her boundaries should be ever sacred and inviolate. Dionysius of Halycarnassus has left us a description of the capitol, in the condition he beheld it in the reign of Augustus. This temple was two hundred feet wide, and about two hundred and fifteen feet in length. It contained three chapels, one dedicated to Jupiter, the second to Juno, and the third to Minerva, pursuant to a vow made by Tarquin the Elder. It was built with a magnificence suitable to the idea, which Rome had conceived of her

(b) This woman is said to have come to Tarquin with nine books, for which she asked a considerable price. The king refusing to give it, she went away, and burnt three books. After which she returned, and asked the same price for the remaining six. Tarquin laughed at her, upon which she left him again, and burnt three more; then returning a third time, she demanded the same price as at first for the three that were left. The king, being surprized, consulted the augurs, who found them to be the oracles of the Sibyl, and advised him to buy them at any rate. The woman received her money, and charging them to keep those writings sacred, immediately vanished. They were first committed to the care of two persons of distinction, stiled *duumviri*; these were afterwards increased to ten, and then to fifteen, and as their number increased, they were called *decemviri*, *quindecemviri*, *sacris faciundis*. It was their business to consult those books when the republic was in any great distress, and to put in execution whatever the Sibyls commanded. They likewise had the regulation of the *ludi seculares*.

(c) We are told by some, that the name of this man was Tulus, and that the word *capitol* was compounded of *caput* and *Tulus*. Others say, that the hill *Tarpeius* took the above name, because it was the chief fortress in Rome.

future



CONSULS.	Years of Rome.	Before J. C.	Eminent and learned men.
P. Volumnius. Servius Sulpitius Camerinus.	292	462	flourished in the year of Rome 240
P. Valerius Publicola. 2 <sup>o</sup> .	293	461	Pythagoras, a Greek philosopher, originally from Samos, was born towards the fifty seventh olympiad, and died towards the seventieth.
Caius Claudius. Quintus Fabius Vibulanus. 3 <sup>o</sup> .	294	460	
L. Cornelius Cossus. C. Nautius Rutilus. 2 <sup>o</sup> .	295	459	He is chiefly celebrated for his opinions concerning the metempsychosis, or transmigration of souls, and the motion of the earth round the sun; for the invention of several rules in arithmetic; for his important discoveries in geometry; for the strict silence which he made his disciples observe during the space of several years; and, finally, for his modesty in refusing the name of <i>sophos</i> , or wise, and contenting himself with that of <i>philosophos</i> , a lover of wisdom. The tyranny of Polycrates obliged him to leave Samos, and to retire to that part of Greece, which was called <i>Magna Græcia</i> . There it was that his sect took the name of <i>Italii</i> . There are maxims still extant, which are called the golden verses of Pythagoras, and of which M. Dacier has given a French translation.
L. Minucius. C. Horatius Pulvillus. Q. Minucius Augurinus.	296	458	
M. Valerius Maximus. Sp. Virginus Tricostus.	297	457	
T. Romilius Rocus. C. Veturius.	298	456	
Sp. Tarpeius Montanus.	299	455	
A. Eterius (or Aterius) Fontinalis. Sextus Quintilius Varus.	300	454	Athens by this Sufarion, and by his countryman Dolon.
P. Horatius (or Curatius) Tergeminus.			Thespis, a Greek poet, lived in the 61st olympiad. He is looked upon as the inventor of tragedy. The first he ever represented, was called <i>Alceſtis</i> , as we are informed by the Oxford marbles. This magnificent entertainment had but a very weak beginning, as Horace tells us in his Art of Poetry. Thespis besmeared the faces of his actors with lees of wine, and carried them about from village to village, in a cart, where they acted their plays. <i>Ignotum tragicæ genus invenisse Camenæ Dicitur, &amp; plaustriis vexisse poemata Thespis; Quæ canerent agerentque per uncti facibus ora.</i>

Sufarion, of Icarus, lived in the fifty fourth olympiad.

The Oxford marbles mention, under the 30th epocha, that comedy was invented at

Athens

future grandeur, and the ornaments, with which it was embellished at different times, rendered it one of the richest structures in the universe (*d*)

Tarquin  
consults the  
oracle of  
Delphi.

Titus and Arunx are deputed by their father to consult the oracle of Delphi (*e*), in regard to a contagious distemper which made great havock at Rome. It is said that Tarquin had been forewarned by several omens of his approaching ruin, and that the pestilence then raging in his capital, served only as a pretence to have an opportunity to consult that oracle in regard to his future destiny. It is said, moreover, that the oracle having declared to the two princes, that he who should first give a kiss to his mother, was to reign after Tarquin; Brutus, whom his cousins had brought along with them to amuse themselves with his affected follies, immediately caught the right sense of the oracle, and falling down, as it were by chance, kissed the earth, the common parent of mankind: thus he is said to have secured the chief command in Rome, which indeed he obtained after Tarquin's expulsion, by the title of consul.

243.

War with  
the Rutuli.

The rape of  
Lucretia.

Behaviour  
of Brutus.

Tarquin had undertaken a war against the Rutuli (*f*), which he had not time to finish. His son, Sextus Tarquinius, having used violence to Lucretia (*g*), the wife of his kinsman Collatinus, the generous lady could not survive the insult, but stabbed herself in the presence of Lucretius her father, of Collatinus her husband, and of several others of the Roman nobility. Brutus being one of the number, perceived that now was the time to let them know that his folly had been only feigned. He draws the poniard out of Lucretia's bosom, and shewing it, all bloody, to the assembly, he binds himself, and his company bind themselves also, by the most terrible oaths, to banish Tarquin and his family for ever from Rome.

Banishment  
of the Tar-  
quins.

The present opportunity for putting their resolution in practice seemed very favourable. Tarquin was employed at the siege of Ardea, a town belonging to the Rutuli: during his absence, Lucretius had been entrusted with the government of Rome, and Brutus, as captain of the guards, had a right to convene the people; which he did by

(*d*) It was the fate of this great building to be burnt down several times; the first under Sylla, but he rebuilt it in a more sumptuous manner; the second in the reign of Vitellius, but it was repaired by Vespasian; the third under Titus, and his brother Domitian rebuilt it.

(*e*) Delphi was a city of Phocis in Greece, situated on mount Parnassus, where Apollo was said to utter oracles.

(*f*) A very ancient people of Latium; their metropolis, *Ardea*, lay sixteen miles south east of Rome; at present there are scarce any footsteps of it remaining. Virgil takes notice of it, as having been anciently called *Ardua*, *Æn.* lib. 7.

*Audacis Rutuli muros—locus Ardua quondam*

*Dictus avis, & nunc magnum manet Ardea nomen.*

(*g*) Her husband, boasting of her beauty in the company of Tarquin's sons, brought them home with him to see her; Sextus, the eldest, fell in love with her, and paying her a visit, in her husband's absence, ravished her.

*curia,*



*curiæ*, and without difficulty prevailed on them to confirm a decree of the senate, which condemned the Tarquins to perpetual banishment. The king having received advice of what passed, marched directly to Rome at the head of his army; but found the gates shut, and was made acquainted in form with the decree that determined his exile.

The administration was now reduced to an interregnum, the first that had happened since the death of Ancus Martius. During this short interval, the power was lodged in the hands of Lucretius, by declaring him inter-rex. Brutus was possessed of some papers drawn up by Servius Tullius, concerning the institution of a republic: these he read to the senate and the people, who approved his plan. The outrages committed by the late king, and which were recent in every body's memory, had rendered the regal authority odious; they agreed therefore to commit the supreme authority into the hands of two magistrates, who were to be elected annually by the people, out of the body of the patricians, and were to have the name of *consuls* (*f*). A modest title, says the abbé de Vertot, which gave to understand, that they were rather the republic's council, than sovereigns, and that the only point they were to have in view, was her preservation and glory. We ought likewise to observe with M. de Montesquieu, that the institution of consuls greatly contributed to raise the Romans to so high a degree of power. "Princes, says he, have their periods of ambition; but the republic being governed by chiefs, who were changed every year, and who endeavoured to signalize themselves in their office, in order to be promoted again to new dignities, there was a perpetual incentive to ambition; they engaged the senate to propose war to the people, and every day they pointed out new enemies."

A common-wealth established.

Under consular government.

The people being assembled by centuries, chose Brutus and Collatinus for their first consuls: one was the deliverer of their country; the other a personal enemy of the Tarquins. The consuls preserved the same ensigns of dignity as those which the kings had borne, except the crown of gold and the sceptre; namely, the habit striped with purple, the ivory curule chair, and the fasces borne by the twelve lictors: but only one of the consuls could have the ax carried before him: this honour they enjoyed alternately for a month; and it began with Brutus, his colleague chusing to pay him that regard.

Brutus and Collatinus first Consuls.

Tarquin, abandoned by his troops, is obliged to fly for refuge to the Hetrurians, along with his sons Titus and Arunx. Sextus retires to the city of Gabii, where he is put to death a little while after. The consuls conclude a truce of fifteen years with the Rutuli. Institution of a *rex sacrorum*, or king of the sacrifices, whose office, subordinate

Rex sacrorum.

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(*f*) The name of *consuls* is generally derived from *consulere*, to watch for the public welfare; or, according to some, to consult, or ask counsel, because they were to do nothing without the advice of the senate and people. The candidates for this office were obliged to be present, and in a private station. The common age required was forty two, but this was sometimes dispensed with. Their authority was equal,



to the *pontifex maximus*, was to perform certain sacrifices, which had been reserved to their kings in person (g).

The first care of the new consuls was to fill up the places vacant in the senate, to the number of upwards of an hundred and sixty; and immediately Brutus made the senate and the people take a solemn oath, never to recall the Tarquins, nor to create any other king: those who should attempt to restore monarchy, they devoted to the infernal gods, and condemned to the most cruel punishments. Ambassadors sent from Hetruria, under the pretence of demanding Tarquin's effects, engage some of the young patricians in a plot against the new government. Brutus's two sons, with the *Vitellii*, and the *Aquilii* (h), nephews of Collatinus, were at the head of this conspiracy; which was discovered by Vindicius a slave (i), who obtained his liberty as a reward for saving that of Rome (k). It belonged to the consuls to try the criminals, and to pronounce sentence. What a trial for Brutus! The Roman historians have all indulged their fancies in describing every circumstance of so tragical an event. Some of them speak of Brutus, as of a ferocious man, who ordered, and beheld undaunted, the execution of his own children; others, with greater probability, represent him as relenting in that terrible moment. Livy says that the parent's love still appeared in the consul's face, though armed with the terror of punishment: *eminente animo patrio inter publicæ præni ministerium*.

Tarquin's effects are distributed among the people. Tarquinius Collatinus, being suspected because of his name, abdicates the consulate, and retires to Lavinium, after receiving a considerable present from the republic and his colleague. In his stead the people elect

(g) As the kings had been, in many respects, serviceable to the state, it was thought proper to keep up the name of a king in the city; but he was to devote himself wholly to the care of the public worship. None but patricians were admitted to this dignity.

(h) There were three of the Aquilian family, the sons of Collatinus's sister, and two Vitellii, whose sister Brutus had married.

(i) This was a slave of the Aquilii, at whose house the conspirators met; the slave, suspecting his masters design, stood at the door of the apartment, and by that means discovered the whole conspiracy.

(k) The phrase *windicare in libertatem* is generally believed to have had its rise from Vindicius. The manner of conferring freedom, was either by testament, or manumission. The ceremony of manumission was performed thus: the master, laying his hand upon his servant's head, before the prætor, said, *hunc hominem liberum esse volo*, and then let him go out of his hand, which was called *è manu emittere*. Upon which, the prætor laying a rod upon his head, called *windicta*, said, *dico eum liberum esse* *more Quiritum*. The slave was then registered on the roll of freedmen, and received a cap in token of his liberty, which was termed *pilco dorari*. Those who had been made free, were called *liberti*; and if it happened to be by testament, they had the title of *oreini*, because their masters were gone to *Orcus*. The children of the *liberti* were stiled *libertini*; whereas, *ingenui* were such as had been born free, and of parents that had been always free. But if a slave could get his master's consent to have his name inserted in the censor's roll, he was called *liber censu*, as the other two were *liberi testamento*, and *manumissione*.



**P.** Valerius, who had been one of the first that distinguished himself by his aversion to the Tarquins.

A general pardon granted to all Tarquin's adherents, upon their returning to Rome within a certain time.

The consuls march against Tarquin, who had engaged the Veientes and Tarquinienſes to support his cauſe. A ſingle combat between Brutus and Arunx, Tarquin's ſon, at the head of the army, and they are both ſlain at the ſame time. The Romans remain maſters of the field of battle. Valerius triumphs on his return to Rome, which he enters with great magnificence, in a chariot drawn by four horſes; a cuſtom obſerved ever after. Honours paid to the memory of Brutus (1); his body is carried to Rome by Roman knights; the ſenate go out to meet it in funeral pomp; and the Roman ladies put themſelves into mourning for a whole year. The funeral oration of this famous republican was pronounced by Valerius in the *forum*; and this was the firſt example of the kind among the Romans: the ſame honour was afterwards conferred on all thoſe citizens who diſtinguiſhed themſelves either in war or peace.

Valerius cauſes his fine houſe to be levelled to the ground, upon finding that it gave umbrage to the people, by reaſon of its ſituation on a hill, which commanded the city of Rome. The people were ſo pleaſed with this condeſcenſion, that they built him another at the public expence.

Before another colleague was choſen, Valerius made ſeveral laws in favour of the people, which gained him the name of *Poplicola* or *Pullicola*, by which he is known. Among other things, he ordained that every Roman citizen, condemned to corporal puniſhment, might appeal to the people, and the magiſtrates ſhould proceed no further till the comitia had given their opinion. He forbade the entering upon any public office, without the conſent of the people, upon pain of death. He made it lawful for thoſe who had any knowledge of a deſign to revive the regal power, to kill the author of that deſign, without waiting for a legal condemnation. He gave orders that the conſuls ſhould have only ſaſces, without the axes, carried before them in the city; and that the public money ſhould be removed from his own houſe to the temple of Saturn, where the treaſury was ever afterwards kept; and laſt of all, he appointed two treaſurers, called *quaſtors* (m),

(1) Moſt of the ancients agree, that Junius Brutus left no iſſue; and yet Cicero poſitively affirms, that Lucius Brutus, one of the conſpirators againſt Cæſar, was deſcended from the firſt conſul.

(m) This word is derived from *quaerendo*, from getting in the public revenue. Their number, at firſt, was only two; but in the year of the city 332, two more were added, to pay the troops, and to ſell the ſpoils, &c. For which purpoſe they attended the armies, and had the name of *militares* and *peregrini*; whereas the others were called *ararii* and *urbani*. In the year 439 four new ones were created, with the title of provincial quaſtors, each of whom had his province to reſide in, and to regulate the taxes and cuſtoms; but as the republic extended her conqueſts, their number



to have the management of it. The first quæstors were Publius Vetturius, and Marcus Minutius. Others refer the institution of the quæstorship to the reign of Tullus Hostilius.

Lucretius, father of Lucretia, is chosen colleague with Poplicola ; he dies a few days after, and M. Horatius is named to finish the year.

245.

A new lustrum and census of the people of Rome, on which occasion there appeared to be a hundred and thirty thousand citizens, without reckoning orphans and widows, who are declared free from all taxes. It was the fifth census since the institution thereof by Servius Tullius : this prince made four ; however, we know nothing but of the first : in regard to Tarquin the Proud, he entirely neglected this useful institution. First treaty (*m*) between the Romans and Carthaginians, whereby we find that the former did not intirely neglect their maritime commerce.

Tarquin removes to Clusium, the residence of the king Porfena, and prevails on this prince, the most powerful of all the Lucumos of Etruria, to espouse his cause.

246.

Porfena espouses the cause of Tarquin.  
Bravery of Horatius Cocles.

Exploit of Mucius Sævola.

Porfena lays siege to Rome at the head of a formidable army ; and takes the fort of the *janiculum*. Remarkable bravery of Horatius Cocles, who sustained the efforts of the enemy for some time by himself, at the head of the bridge which separated the janiculum from the city ; having by this gallant step given time to the Romans to demolish the bridge, he leaped into the river, and gained the opposite bank, all covered with wounds. Porfena turns the siege into a blockade, with a view to reduce the besieged by famine. Upon this occasion was performed the famous exploit of C. Mucius, afterwards surnamed *Sævola*, or *left handed*. This young Roman is said to have gone in disguise into the enemy's camp, with an intent to kill Porfena, and to deliver Rome : but having missed his blow by mistake, he was carried to the king, in whose presence he burnt his right hand, telling him that there were three hundred Romans, as resolute as himself, concealed in the Etrurian camp, who had all sworn to take away his life. It is, moreover, added, that the king being struck with admiration, sent Mucius back, and thought proper to raise the siege. Of this exploit, so greatly extolled by the Romans,

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was increased. The office of the quæstors was to take care of the public money, and the reception of ambassadors. Their place was very honourable, though they had no jurisdiction : it was the first office a person could bear in the commonwealth ; and might be undertaken at the age of twenty four. They were first chosen by the people, afterwards by the consuls, and in Tully's time again by the people.

(*m*) The above treaty related chiefly to navigation and commerce, and was to be seen in Polybius's time on the base of a column in the ancient Roman language. By this treaty, the Carthaginians would not suffer the Romans to sail beyond the *Pulchrum Promontorium*, which lay north of Carthage, lest the fruitfulness of the land should tempt them to make a settlement on it.

Dionysius



Dionysius of Halicarnassus, a very exact historian, takes no manner of notice. It seems more probable, that the raising of the siege, and the peace that followed, were the fruit of the conferences which Porfena had with the consuls, wherein they convinced him of the justice of their cause in expelling the Tarquins (n). This prince, upon Clælia, his retiring, gave a very signal testimony of his generosity, and his esteem for the Romans: he ordered his soldiers to take nothing away with them but their arms; so that after his retreat, the inhabitants of Rome, who were greatly distressed for provisions, found plenty of every kind in the Etrurian camp. The senate, to shew their respect and gratitude, sent him a triumphal robe, and other ensigns of royalty used by the kings of Rome.

The capitol is finished and consecrated.

247.

Porfena, after concluding a peace with Rome, went to lay siege to Porfena Ardea, a town of Latium, where his army was defeated. Then he <sup>makes peace with Rome,</sup> experienced that the Romans were not at all inferior to him in generosity; his troops found a sure retreat on the territory of Rome, where they met with so kind a reception, that a great number of them thought proper to settle in that city; and they had a quarter assigned them, which was afterwards called the *Etruscan Street*.

248.

Commencement of the war with the Sabines. These people wanted War with to take advantage of the weak state to which Rome was reduced by the Sabines, the desertion of almost all her allies, who had been gained by their artifices. They are defeated at Tibur upon the Anio.

249.

An eminent Sabine, whose name was Aëtius Clausus, having incurred the hatred of his fellow citizens by opposing the war with the Romans, is prevailed on by Poplicola to remove to Rome. Accordingly he comes over with his family, his friends, and clients, amounting to upwards of five thousand men able to bear arms, who were all favoured with the rights and privileges of Roman citizens. He changes his name to that of Appius Claudius, and is admitted into the senate. Such was the origin of the family of the Claudii. Second defeat of the Sabines.

(n) Porfena is said to have been chiefly influenced to conclude this peace by his son Arunx, a great admirer of the Roman virtue. To secure the performance of the articles, the Romans sent ten young men, and as many virgins, of the chief families in Rome, as hostages. Among these was the famous Clælia, who stealing from the camp by night, with her companions, ventured to swim cross the Tiber, and having encouraged the rest to follow her, they all got safe to the opposite shore, and returned to Rome. But the consul Poplicola sent them back to Porfena, who dismissed her, and the other hostages, for the great esteem he had of her virtue. The senate afterwards erected a statue to her memory in the *via sacra*.

250.

Death of  
Poplicola.

Death of *Poplicola* (*o*), who, after Brutus's decease, was looked upon as the greatest man in the republic. Though honoured with four consulships, and two triumphs, he died so poor, that he was obliged to be buried at the public expence. The Roman ladies paid the same honour to his memory, as to that of Brutus, by mourning a whole year for him.

The Sabines  
defeated.

The consul *Posthumius* meets with a check from the Sabines, by falling into an ambuscade; *Menenius*, his colleague flies to his assistance; and the two consuls united, obtain a complete victory. *Menenius* receives the customary honours of triumph, but *Posthumius* only an *ovation* (*p*). This was an inferior sort of triumph; the person who received this honour, had only a crown of myrtle, and the *prætexta*, the usual habit of magistrates: he walked on foot, or, at most, on horseback, and was attended by the senate only. But the triumpher wore a lawrel crown, and a robe embroidered with palm branches; he was mounted on a chariot, and seated in an ivory curule chair. The *fasti capitolini* take notice of the ovation of *Posthumius*, as the first that was ever seen in Rome.

251.

The Sabines  
again de-  
feated.

The consul *Cassius* intirely subdues the Sabines in a pitched battle; they sued for peace, which was granted them, on condition of paying a yearly contribution, and of yielding a certain quantity of arable land to the Romans. The *Camerini* are reduced by *Virginus*, the colleague of *Cassius*; their city is taken by storm, and razed to the ground; some of the most guilty of the inhabitants are put to death, and the rest are sold for slaves.

252.

Assembly of the Latins at *Ferentinum*, where the Romans are declared to have violated the treaties between the two nations, by engaging *Porfena*, as it was pretended, to lay siege to *Aricia* (*q*). This intrigue was managed by *Mamilius*, son-in-law to *Tarquin the Proud*.

(*o*) By some historians he is called *Publicola*.

(*p*) We meet with various derivations of this word; some think it comes from *ob*, by which the people expressed their admiration on those occasions; others derive it from shouting *Evan* or *evae*, to Bacchus. But the most probable original is from *ovis*, a sheep, which was usually offered in this procession, as an ox in the triumph. The difference between the ovation and the triumph is said by *Gellius*, to have been taken from the greatness of the achievements.

(*q*) A town of old Latium, in the Appian way, ten miles from Rome. It was formerly famous for leeks, hence we read in *Martial* 13. 19. *mittit præcipuum nemoralis Aricia portus*. *Horace* mentions it in his journey to Brundisium, l. 1. sat. 5. *Ingessum magna me excepit Aricia Roma*. It is now called *L'Ariccia*. In this neighbourhood stood the *Aricinum nemus*, or grove *Dianæ Aricinae*, famous for the fountain of the nymph *Egeria*, and dedicated by *Numa* to the muses. Liv. l. 1. c. 21.

A con-



A conspiracy of slaves is discovered at Rome : they are condemned to be crucified, after being whipped with rods.

253.

Revolt of the Fidenates. The consul Tullius lays siege to Fidenæ, but is called back to Rome to stifle a new conspiracy formed again by the slaves, and the meaner citizens. Publius and Marcus, Tarquin's relations, who were come privately to Rome for this horrid purpose, turned informers, and, for their reward, received the privileges of Roman citizens, with a considerable gratification in money, and some lands. The conspirators, by the particular good management of Sulpitius the other consul, were surrounded in the *forum*, where they had met in the night, and were all cut in pieces, in virtue of a decree of the senate confirmed by the people.

Public games and sacrifices are celebrated during three days, to thank the gods for the deliverance of Rome.

254.

The city of Fidenæ continues to be invested, while Veturius, one of the consuls, goes and takes Crustumerium, a city situated between the Tiber and the Anio. The Tarquins make reprisals by laying siege to Segnia, a new Roman colony ; but are obliged to raise it. Præneste (*r*), a city of Latium, submits to the Romans.

255.

Reduction of the city of Fidenæ by the consul Lartius. The Latins being alarmed, enter into a general confederacy, and declare war against the Romans. Sextus Tarquinius, and Mamilius, have the command of their armies. The poorer sort of people in Rome refuse to enlist, unless they are released from their debts, which expose them to the continual persecutions of the rich, and the nobility.

Never had the republic as yet been in so critical a situation ; menaced from without by a bloody war, and within by intestine division. The senate, after a long debate, thought the best way was to create a supreme magistrate, who, for a time, should be invested with an absolute power, that is, with the whole power which had been divided among the consuls, the senate, and the people. It was, therefore, resolved by a decree of the senate, “ that Lartius and Clælius, who were then consuls, should resign all their authority, and that all those who had any share in the administration, should follow their example : that there should be only a single governor, who was to be elected by the senate, and the election confirmed by the people :

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(*r*) A town of Latium, about twenty miles from Rome eastward, now called *Palestrina* : but Præneste was situated on an eminence, for which reason Virgil, *Æn.* lib. 8. calls it *Altum Prænestæ*, and Horace *Prigidum* ; whereas, Palestrina stands in a valley. Virgil uses it also in the feminine, *Præneste sub ipsa*, *Æn.* lib. 8. This place was famous for the oracle in the temple of Fortune, to which Propertius alludes lib. 2. eleg. 32. *Nam quid Prænests dubitas, ô Cynthia, sortes ?*



“and that his power should not continue longer than six months.”  
To this decree the people gave their consent.

The first  
dictator.

Magister  
equitum.

T Lartius, one of the consuls, is named *dictator* (1), which is the appellation they gave to their new magistrate; an appellation not unknown to the Romans, and which they borrowed of their neighbours. We find also that the *dictator* is called *magister populi*; and to this last name corresponded that of *magister equitum* (2), which was given to the general of the horse created by Lartius, and, after his example, by all the other dictators. He was the dictator's lieutenant general, but subject to his orders like the rest of the citizens. Lartius never appeared in public without four and twenty lictors, armed with axes, and his example was followed by all his successors; but it was merely to awe the common people. Of all the dictators, till about a century before the expiration of the republic, Manlius Imperiosus was the only one that rendered himself odious by his violent proceedings.

The sixth census, by which it appeared that there were one hundred and fifty seven thousand and seven hundred men in Rome, above the age of puberty. Lartius enlists all that were able to bear arms, and divides them into four bodies; one he leaves to guard the city, and the rest take the field. The Latins are worsted in a slight engagement; Lartius takes great care of their wounded, and sends the prisoners back without ransom: his humanity and moderation paved the way for negotiations, which proved successful, and a truce was agreed on for a year. Tranquillity being restored, Lartius resigns the dictatorship before his term is expired, and names new consuls.

256.

Decree of the senate, granting liberty to the Latin women who had been married to Romans, and the same to Roman women who had been married to Latins, to return to their respective countries. There were no more than two Latin women married to Roman husbands, that determined to quit Rome; but almost all the Roman dames married to Latin husbands, returned to their native city. With regard to the children, it was settled that the boys should stay with their fathers, and the girls should follow their mothers: there is reason to believe that this was done by the consent of both nations, from an

(1) This word is derived, either from his being *dictus*, that is, named by the consul, or from his dictating or commanding what was to be done. Though we sometimes meet with the naming of this officer on less important occasions, yet he was generally created upon some pressing emergency of the state. No one could be made dictator, till he had been consul. He was never to stir out of Italy, and he was always to march on foot, except on some sudden, or tedious expedition, and then he was to ask leave of the people to ride. He was accountable to no body at the expiration of his office. In cases of extreme necessity, the consuls, and sometimes the other chief magistrates, were also invested with a kind of dictatorial power, by this short decree of the senate, *Dent operam consules, &c. ne quid detrimenti capiat respublica.*

(2) The *magister equitum* held the same place and command under the dictators, as the *tribunus* or *præfectus celerum* under the kings, and the *præfectus prætorio* under the emperors.



apprehension that the women would be too much afflicted by the war, which was ready to break out again.

257.

And indeed the truce was scarce expired, when the Latins appeared War with on the frontiers of the republic, with an army of forty thousand foot, the Latins, and three thousand horse. On so pressing an emergency, Rome had once more recourse to a dictator; and the two consuls were empowered, as had been done before, to name one of themselves to that office. Virginius named his colleague Posthumius, who soon marched out at the head of the legions, and at his return to Rome, was honoured with a triumph. Scarce were there left ten thousand men of the whole Latin army; Mamilius, and Tarquin's two sons, Sextus and Titus, were slain in this battle, which was fought near the lake of *Regillus* (x). The battle of Regillus.

Tarquin the Proud dies at Cumæ in Campania, to which place he retired after the defeat of the Latins, and the death of his sons: he was then in the ninetieth year of his age. Death of Tarquin the Proud.

258.

The Troubles are revived at Rome about the severity of creditors (y). War with War with the Volsci, who solicit the Latins to join them; but the the Volsci, latter deliver up their deputies to the Romans. In return for this mark of affection, the senate send them back all their prisoners without ransom, to the number of six thousand. The Senate cannot oblige the people to serve, till after passing a decree, which put a stop to all proceedings at law against those who would enter the army, and commanded the creditors to prosecute all such debtors with severity as should refuse to enlist. The consul Servilius marches against the Volsci, obtains a victory, and gives up their camp to be plundered, The Volsci without reserving any part of the spoil for the public treasury, as had been hitherto the custom. defeated.

This behaviour made him appear too popular, at a time when the senate wanted to make head against the encroachments of the

(x) It was in the neighbourhood of Tusculum, towards the Anio, and not near *Regilla*, a town of the Sabines: this appears from Livy, *ad lacum Regillum in agro Tusculano*, lib. 2. c. 19. It is now called *Lago di S. Prosside*. Florus mentions, that Castor and Pollux appeared in this battle, mounted on white horses, at the head of the Roman cavalry; in consequence of which, Posthumius vowed a temple to the two brothers.

(y) The creditor was empowered to put the insolvent debtor in irons, or to sell him as a slave. The keeping him in his own house was called *coercion*; and then the debtor was stiled *nexus*, not *servus*, because his slavery lasted only till his debts were paid. But the inhumanity of the creditors in whipping their debtors, was the cause of the coercion's being afterwards changed into public imprisonment.

people. Appius Claudius, a man severe to a fault, and a great abettor of the pretensions of the senate, prevails with them to refuse Servilius a triumph; but this general finding himself supported by the people, marched to the capitol with the usual pomp of triumphant commanders. He defeats the Sabines and the Aurunci, a people of Campania, who began to be alarmed at the progress of the Romans.

Collegium  
Mercuriale.

To this year, some authors refer the establishment of a *college of merchants*, called *collegium Mercuriale*, because they took Mercury for their protector. The Romans were grown sensible of the necessity of commerce; and yet they had long continued to undervalue it. It was not till towards the end of the republic, that they began to think of granting some privileges to the wholesale dealers, or merchants (*negotiatores*). With regard to retailers, they were always held in the utmost contempt, because their trade being very limited, it was supposed they could not make any considerable profit, but at the expence of sincerity and justice. Cicero says this expressly in his first book of offices.

259.

Violent sedition at Rome, where the consuls were in danger of being insulted: the Volsci, the Æqui (æ), and the Sabines, unite, and threaten the Romans all at the same time. Appius Claudius proposes to create a dictator; his advice is followed; and Manius Valerius, Poplicola's brother, is named to that dignity. The dictator is successful over the enemy, and obtains a triumph; but the senate refuse to grant him the abolition of debts, which he had promised several times to the people: he resigns his dictatorial office; and the republic falls into the utmost confusion.

Retreat of  
the people  
to the *sacred*  
*mount*.

Retreat of the people to the *sacred mount*. The soldiers were kept under arms in the neighbourhood of Rome, by express order of the senate, who knew they would not dare to violate the oath (a) they had taken to the consuls, never to desert their colours. But they contrived an expedient to elude their oath; this was to make one Sicinius carry away all their ensigns and standards (b): then thinking themselves released, they put themselves under Sicinius's direction, and retired in good order to a hill situated within three miles of Rome, which was afterwards called the *mons sacer*, or the *sacred*

(æ) A people of Latium.

(a) The legal way of enrolling men among the Romans, was by giving the oath called *sacramentum*, whereby the soldiers bound themselves to obey their commander.

(b) The Roman soldiers had a particular regard for their ensigns and standards, so as to swear by them, and pay them a kind of religious worship; and the bearers were either put to death, or whipped, if they lost them. The common ensign of the whole legion, was a gold or silver eagle, fixed to the top of a spear, and holding a thunderbolt in her talons. Each *manipulus*, or company, had its own ensign. The standard was called *vexillum*, and consisted of a piece of rich stuff, of about a foot square, fastened to a cross piece of wood on the top of a pike.

*mount.*



*mount.* There they were joined by crouds of people from the city; and they would not stir from thence but to seek for provision.

Posthumius Cominius, and Sp. Cassius are appointed consuls for the following year. Nobody aspired to this dignity in so dangerous a conjuncture; not one candidate appeared on the list. The name of *candidate* was given to such citizens as sued for public employments; because, on those occasions, they always wore a white garment (c).

260.

After two unsuccessful attempts to bring back the malecontents, the senate send new deputies, with full powers to grant the people whatever they should think proper to ask. This third deputation was composed of ten of the most respectable senators, all consular men, except Nautius, who was not inferior in prudence to those of a more advanced age; for it was owing to his management, that all the young senators voted with those of more years and experience.

Every body must have heard of the famous apologue, of a conspiracy of all the members of the human body against the stomach, by which Menenius Agrippa, one of the deputies, reduced the malecontents to reason. They were just ready to return to Rome, upon the promise Menenius had made them of cancelling the debts of insolvent citizens, when they were stopped by Lucius Junius, a plebeian, and a man of very good sense, who had hitherto affected the air of a driveller, and for that very reason had the surname of Brutus given him, like the founder of the republic. “ Under the sanction of the  
“ same name, says father Catrou, he looked upon himself as sent by  
“ heaven to rescue the people from the tyranny of the senate, as the  
“ famous Brutus had delivered Rome from the oppression of the kings;  
“ and indeed the advice he gave them, contributed not a little to the  
“ superiority which the people gained over the patricians; a supe-  
“ riority which they afterwards preserved, and which rendered them  
“ masters of the commonwealth.” The new Brutus therefore demanded of the deputies, that the plebeians should have leave to chuse annually, out of their own body, a certain number of magistrates, who were to be their protectors, and to oppose or disannul any edicts or judgments that might be oppressive to the people. This proposal embarrassed the deputies; they returned therefore to consult the senate, who decreed to grant them all they asked.

*Institution of the tribunes of the people (d).* The first elected to this dignity, were that very Sicinius, whom the seceders had chosen for  
Tribunes of  
the people  
instituted,  
their

(c) *Viz.* the *toga candida*. They declared their pretensions a year before the election, during which time they made all the interest possible, in going about among their friends, which was called *ambire magistratum*. They had usually a *nomenclator* or *monitor*, to whisper people's names to them.

(d) In the beginning they were five, but in the year 297 their number was increased to ten, and so continued ever after. Their institution was intended to protect the plebeians, and redress public grievances; but afterwards they usurped the power  
of



their general; Brutus, who had proposed the creation of this office; the two brothers, Licinii, and C. Icilius; who were all chosen upon the spot. A law was also passed, declaring the persons of the tribunes sacred and inviolate. As soon as they returned to Rome, the people insisted upon the creation of two new magistrates, to be chosen annually by the plebeians, and to serve as assistants to the tribunes.

Institution  
of ædiles.

Institution of *ædiles* (e). This is the name given to those two new magistrates, because one branch of their office was to have the inspection of all public and private buildings.

The Volsci  
defeated.  
Siege of Co-  
rioli.

The Volsci are defeated by the consul Cominius; who takes *Longula* and *Polusca* (f), and then lays siege to *Corioli* (g), the capital of their country. The besiegers were now beating down the walls with their battering ram, when the besieged, taking courage at the sight of the *Antiates* (h) their allies and countrymen, who appeared on the plain, made a vigorous sally, routed the Romans, and drove them back to their camp. But C. Marcius, a young patrician, who served as a private soldier, rallies some of his comrades, brings them back to the charge, obliges the enemy to retire into the town, and pursuing them close, enters pell-mell with them, and makes himself master of the place. Thence he hastens back to the camp, and has the greatest share in the victory obtained over the Antiates. Of all the rewards with which the general wanted to honour his bravery, Marcius accepted only of a captive, whom he immediately restored to his liberty; and of the surname of Coriolanus, which he afterwards rendered memorable by his exploits. The republic renewed her ancient alliance with the Latins, out of gratitude for the fidelity with which this nation had behaved in the last war.

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of doing whatever they pleased, and often created great confusion. Their interposing in matters determined by the senate, was called *intercessio*, and was performed by uttering only a single word,  *veto*. They had no place in the senate, nor any ensigns of their office; except that they were attended by a sort of beadle, stiled *viator*. Their jurisdiction did not extend to above a mile from Rome; they were not allowed to be absent from the city a day; and they were obliged to keep their doors open night and day, in order to shew their readiness to defend the people.

(e) They were likewise to judge inferior causes, to regulate weights and measures, to prohibit unlawful games, &c. Rosinus calls them *ædiles plebis*. But, in the year of the city 389, the care of the public games was committed to two more ædiles, chosen from among the patricians. These had the honour of using the  *sella curulis*, or chair of state, carved and placed in a chariot, in *curru*, from whence the word is derived, and from thence they had the title of *ædiles curules*. They had also the care of temples, theatres, baths, and other noble structures.

(f) These were small towns of the Volsci, in the neighbourhood of Corioli; there are no remains of them to be seen at present.

(g) *Corioli* was a town of Latium, belonging to the Volsci, near the Appian way: its situation is not known exactly, for even in Pliny's time there were no vestiges of it; but it is thought to have been towards Antium.

(h) The Antiates were the people of Antium, an ancient city of Latium, and the capital of the Volsci. It was famous for the temple of Fortune. There is no memorial of this city at present, except a promontory still called *Capo d'Anzio*, in the *campagna di Roma*.

Death



Death of Menenius Agrippa. This illustrious patrician was so poor, that the senate thought proper to order the expences of his funeral to be defrayed out of the public treasury : but the commons had been before hand with them, having taxed themselves at so much a head for the same purpose ; and they never would take back their money, but made a present of it to Menenius's children.

The seventh census, whereby it appeared that there were a hundred and ten thousand men in Rome able to bear arms.

261.

The city of Rome is afflicted with a cruel famine, a consequence of the civil dissensions, which had hindered the people, the preceding year, from attending to agriculture. The complaints of the plebeians against the patricians, are renewed on this occasion ; the former accused the latter of having been the cause of this scarcity, to make themselves amends for the abolition of debts, by the high price of corn, with which their granaries were over-stocked. These troubles were fomented by the tribunes of the people ; Sicinius and Brutus, who were now no more than *ædiles*, had still interest enough to obtain a *plebiscitum* (g), which invested the tribunes with a power of convening the people.

The Volsci were ready to fall upon the Romans, weakened by discord and famine, but a contagious distemper spreads among their towns, defeats their measures, and obliges them to have recourse to the Romans, in order to re-people the city of Velitræ (h), almost destitute of inhabitants. A colony is sent to Norba (i), a city of Latium, to disburden Rome.

Coriolanus, by order of the senate, puts himself at the head of a band of volunteers, fights the Antiates, and returns loaded with booty.

262.

He sues for the consulship, which he is refused : his having been attended to the *Campus Martius*, by a great number of patricians, was a sufficient reason for the commons to exclude him. The tribunes knowing that he was become the head of the patrician party, took occasion from thence to represent him as a man that affected tyranny, and that wanted to obtain the suffrages of the people by mere authority.

(g) A *plebiscitum* was a law made by the joint consent of the people, without the authority of the senate.

(h) An ancient city of Latium, and the first town of the Volsci beyond *mons Albanus*, still called *Velletri*. It was made famous by the Octavian family, who sprung from thence. *Gentem Octaviam Velitris præcipuam olim fuisse, multa declarant.* Suet in Aug. The gentile adjective is *Veliternus*, not *Velitrinus*, as we find in some corrupt copies of Suetonius. Silius mentions it, lib. 8. *Setia et in celebri miserunt valle Velitræ.*

(i) Dionysius calls it *ἡ ἀφανὲς πόλις*, no mean city. It was situate on an eminence, as appears from Livy, *Norbæ in montes novam coloniam miserunt (viz. Romani)* ; it now goes by the name of *Norma*.

Disputes  
about the  
division of  
corn.

Coriolanus  
provokes the  
people.

He is banish-  
ed.

The senate are divided in opinion about the distribution of corn, lately brought to Rome; some were for distributing it gratis, or at a very small price, among the poor; others maintained, that the only way to humble the populace, was to keep them low and miserable. Coriolanus, to be revenged of the affront he had received, puts himself at the head of those who were for humbling the people, and desires the senate to abolish the tribuneship. Sicinius, then tribune the second time, summons him to appear before the people; Coriolanus refuses to obey the summons, and is supported by the patricians; so that Rome is threatened with a civil war. At length the tribunes extort a decree of the senate, by which the plebeians are empowered to try any citizen that should be accused of having violated the laws. Coriolanus, being obliged to obey the tribune's summons, and to appear before the people assembled, is sentenced to perpetual banishment. This was a terrible stroke to the senate: they had flattered themselves that the commons would never presume to banish a man, who had done them such signal services. It was upon the occasion of this trial, that the people were assembled for the first time by tribes, (there were at that time one and twenty) whereas since the reign of Servius Tullius, they had always been assembled by centuries; this difference was decisive; and ever after made the balance preponderate either in favour of the people, or of the patricians.

263.

This year the Romans imagined they saw several prodigies, which portended heavy misfortunes to the commonwealth. The senate ordained the great games to be renewed, at double the usual expence, to appease the wrath of Jupiter Capitolinus. It is pretended that this god had complained of the person that led the dance at the last public games.

264.

He retires  
among the  
Volsci.

Coriolanus had taken leave of his country, attended only by a few of his faithful clients, never to see it more but at the head of an hostile army. Among all the nations bordering on Rome that were likely to afford him shelter, he preferred the Volsci as the most warlike, and the fittest for his purpose of humbling the Romans. They had often experienced the valour of Coriolanus; hence they easily put their confidence in so great a general, who offered to avenge their cause and his own. Being appointed to command the Volscian troops in conjunction with Attus Tullius, he enters the territory of Rome at the head of the main army, and ravages the country. But the lands belonging to the patricians are spared by his order, to increase the mistrust and suspicion between the two parties. He takes *Circeum* (k), a Roman colony.

265.

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(k) Or, more properly *Circeii*: *statim mittam vel Antium vel Circeos*, Cic. ad Att. l. 15. ep. 10. It was situate at the foot of *monte Circeio*, where Circe is said to have dwelt,



265.

He carries on his conquests with surprising rapidity, and makes himself master of all the towns which the Romans had taken from the Volsci: then he enters Latium, which submits to the conqueror; and, at length, he lays siege to Rome (1). On this occasion, the haughty spirit of Coriolanus, and of his fellow citizens, was fully displayed. The senate sent two deputations to him, the first composed of consulars; the second of all the ministers of the gods in their sacerdotal habits. Coriolanus received them sitting, and surrounded by the principal nobility among the Volsci; he insisted upon exorbitant conditions for this nation: but the Romans, though in appearance upon the brink of ruin, still spoke in the stile of masters; for this was their custom: they told him, on behalf of the senate, that they would not treat of peace, till he had laid down his arms. So spirited a declaration might have occasioned the loss of Rome, if Veturia, mother of Coriolanus, and Volumnia his wife, had not undertaken to intercede with him to raise the siege: he could not withstand their tears; but led back his troops to Antium, without committing any hostilities on his march.

Marches towards Rome.

Is prevailed upon by his mother to raise the siege.

Fresh misfortunes befel him at his return. Attius Tullus, the other general of the Volsci, had no share in the honours of this campaign, having staid at home to cover the country. Jealous of Coriolanus's glory, he summoned him to appear before an assembly of the Antiates, to answer a charge of treason; and caused him to be assassinated in a popular tumult.

His death.

The generous behaviour of Coriolanus makes us lose sight of his mistakes, and the irregularity of his conduct. For no other name can we give either to that cruel resolution, by which he was for obliging the people to renounce the necessary aid of their magistrates, and against granting them any relief when Rome was afflicted with a famine; nor to his furious resentment against the republic, for an injury done him by part of the plebeians; nor, in fine, to his infidelity to his allies. With a particular magnanimity, he had all that pride and ambition, which appeared in Sylla, in Marius, and in so many other tyrants, when Rome was grown more powerful, and the republic more weak. If the Volsci put Coriolanus to death, it was a just punishment upon him, for having betrayed their interest: but Fabius Pictor, an historian of great antiquity, says that he died of old age in his exile; and Livy seems to be of this opinion. The Roman matrons, who were under obligations to him for having saved Rome upon their account, went into mourning for him ten months.

The senate erect a temple to the *fortune of women*, *fortuna muliebri*, on the very spot where the mother of Coriolanus disarmed him by her

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dwelt, and from thence the place derived its name. There is a village here, now called *S. Felicità*.

(1) He encamped at *Fossæ Clæliæ*, or, as some call it, *Fossa Cluilia*, a place within five miles of Rome.

tears.

tears. This temple was finished and consecrated the following year. None but matrons were permitted to enter it, and to offer up sacrifices to the goddess.

266.

The Hernici  
and the  
Volsci de-  
feated.

Rome received a considerable advantage from her late humiliation; the people were sensible of the mistake they had committed since the last troubles, in conferring the consulate on mean-spirited men. This year they chose for consuls, C. Sicinius, and C. Aquilius, patricians of distinguished valour, who defeated the joint forces of the Hernici (k) and the Volsci. Attius Tullus was killed in this battle.

267.

Troubles  
about the  
agrarian  
law.

The consul Virginius being sent against the Æqui, ravages their country without opposition, and brings his troops back to Rome. The Volsci and the Hernici, against whom Cassius was ordered to march, treat with this consul about terms of peace, which he had received full powers from the senate to conclude. The Hernici are admitted to an alliance with the republic, after the senate had confiscated two thirds of their lands.

Troubles in regard to the agrarian law (l). (This name was given to the regulation which settled the division of the conquered lands among the people.) Cassius proposes to divide the lands lately taken from the Hernici, and those heretofore conquered from other nations, into equal shares among the plebeians and the Latins. This proposal, so favourable to the people of Rome and their allies, was rejected nevertheless by the senate and the tribunes; by the former, because they were apprehensive of being stripped of the lands, of which they had robbed the public; by the latter, because they could not, without jealousy, behold a patrician and a consul endeavouring to gain the confidence of the people. Besides, they apprehended, and with good reason, that Cassius, by this artful liberality, might obtain such a popularity, as would render him the lord and tyrant of Rome. Appius Claudius proposes the creation of decemvirs; his advice is followed, but with some modifications proposed by A. Sempronius Atratinus. A decree was made, enacting: “that ten of the senate who had been consuls (these are the decem-  
“virs) should be appointed to divide the lands among the public  
“treasury, the Romans, and their allies; that for the future, all  
“the lands the republic should conquer, with the aid of her allies,  
“should be divided among the public treasury, the citizens of Rome  
“and those same allies; and lastly, that the election of the first de-  
“cemvirs should be left to the consuls of the next year.”

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(k) The Hernici were a people of new Latium eastward, between the Æqui, Volsci, and Mariti; their chief town was *Anagnia*, now *Anagni*.

(l) So called from the Latin word *ager*, signifying *land*.



268.

Cassius being accused by the quæstors, Cæso Fabius and L. Valerius, of having had a design to usurp the sovereignty of Rome, is brought to a trial. According to the most general tradition, he underwent a domestic sentence, and was put to death by his own father: but the most probable account is that given by Dionysius Halicarnassensis, who informs us, that Cassius being fairly convicted of the crimes laid to his charge, was condemned by the people to be thrown down headlong from the top of the Tarpeian rock. Thus perished a man honoured with three consulates, and two triumphs; he fell a victim to his ambition, and to Roman liberty.

Cassius is  
condemned  
and exe-  
cuted.

This event stunned all those who were for carrying the partition of lands into execution. For some time, no further mention was made either of the agrarian law, or of the creation of decemvirs, which the patricians had an interest in delaying. As they were masters of the election of the consuls, which was made in comitia by centuries, they took care to chuse none but persons on whom they could intirely depend. They had likewise the policy to be always at war with some of their neighbours; so that the people being employed abroad, had not time to create disturbances at home.

Expedition against the Veientes, the Æqui, and the Volsci. Q. Fabius orders the booty to be sold, and the money to be put into the treasury, without giving any part of it to his troops.

War with  
the Veientes,  
the Æqui,  
and the  
Volsci.

269.

The Volsci and the Æqui are defeated by Æmilius. Consecration of the temple of Castor, which had been vowed by the dictator Posthumus in the last war with the Latins. The temple was built in honour of both; but custom determines names; and this temple afterwards was called only by the name of Castor. This explains a jest in Suetonius: Bibulus having exhibited some magnificent games to the people, in conjunction with Julius Cæsar, and the honour of them being given intirely to the latter, the former said, by way of joke, that his fate was the same as that of Pollux.

The Volsci  
and the Æ-  
qui defeated.

270.

The tribune Mænius opposes the levies which the consuls wanted to make for the war against the Veientes and the Volsci: by this opposition he reckoned he should oblige them to appoint decemvirs, at length, for the partition of lands: but the consuls found out a method to get over this difficulty. They ordered their tribunal to be carried into the open country, and there they summoned the plebeians to enlist. Those who refused, were compelled by military execution: nor could the tribunes oppose it; for their jurisdiction did not extend beyond the walls of Rome; they were not even allowed to stir out of town, except it was to celebrate the *feriæ Latinæ*.

New di-  
sturbances.

The vestal Oppia, or Opimia, convicted of having violated her vow of virginity, undergoes the usual punishment.

271.



271.

Great divisions about the election of consuls. The people were tired of seeing the administration in the hands of magistrates intirely averse to their interests : the tribunes therefore hearing that the patricians were for giving this dignity to Appius Claudius the son, a man in every respect like his father, opposed the comitia by centuries. The senate, on the other hand, opposed the several meetings appointed by the tribunes ; so that they were obliged to reduce the republic for some time to an interregnum. Sempronius Atratinus is intrusted with the public authority, and after him Sp. Lartius. The latter ordered an assembly of the people by centuries in the Campus Martius. As Appius Claudius was now quite out of the question, the election was made without disorder. The consuls chosen, were Q. Fabius and C. Julius, one of the faction of the nobles, the other of that of the people. War against the Æqui and the Veientes, without any considerable success.

272.

The difference betwixt the senate and the people, was accommodated in the same manner as the preceding year ; each party chose a consul devoted to their interest. Thus the tribunes fomented a perpetual division among the patricians ; those who aspired to the consulship, siding some with the people, and others with the nobility, to gain their respective votes. The tribune Julius forms a fresh opposition against the levies, in hopes of obtaining the partition of lands.

The enemy, without doubt, would have taken advantage of these broils, if Appius the younger had not given a very prudent advice, which was immediately followed. He represented to the senate, that the only method to weaken the power of the tribunes, was to sow divisions among them ; the expedient succeeded, and the four other tribunes declared against Icilius.

Furius marches against the Veientes, and Fabius against the Æqui, but with different success. Fabius was so hated by the plebeians, that his infantry were of no service to him. Luckily, however, his horse alone put the enemy to flight : yet he was obliged to abandon his camp the next night, and to retreat, in consequence of the sudden and total desertion of his infantry.

273.

Notwithstanding the aversion the plebeians shewed to the family of the Fabii, which had been so long in possession of the consulate, the patricians nominated Marcus Fabius consul a second time.

Battle of  
Veii.

Battle of Veii, where the Romans gained a memorable victory over the Hetrurians and their allies. It cost them very dear : if the enemy had not quitted their camp the night before the battle, the advantage of that day would have been very uncertain, so great was the loss of the Romans. Among the slain were the consul Manlius, and Q. Fabius, the other consul's brother. As soon as the news of this success came to Rome, they resolved to confer a triumph on Fabius : but he refused



refused it, and entered Rome in mourning, bringing with him the bodies of Manlius his colleague, and of his brother Quintus. As he was now sole governor of the republic, he abdicated his consulship, lest he should introduce the least appearance of monarchy; upon which ensued an interregnum.

274.

So modest a behaviour gained him the hearts of the people, so that the Fabii, from that time, became popular. Cæso Fabius, who had greatly distinguished himself at the last battle, is chosen consul a third time, as much by the inclinations of the people, as by the votes of the patricians. He obtains leave of the senate for his family to undertake alone, and at their own expence, the defence of the frontiers against the perpetual incursions of the Æqui and the Hettrurians.

Marcus Fabius, who had been consul the preceding year, sets out upon this expedition at the head of three hundred and six patricians, all of his own family and name: about four thousand of their clients marched with them. They came to the banks of the Cremera, a small river, now called the *Baccano* (*m*), and there built a fort.

275.

Cæso Fabius joins his brother Marcius, with the title of proconsul, which he was the first that bore, for it had been created in his favour. This was afterwards a very common office. It was conferred at first by the senate or people, at will, without there being any necessity to assemble the centuries. The proconsul's power (*n*) extended only to the troops under his command, over which he had the same authority as the consul.

Servius Furius was invested with the same title this year, and sent against the Æqui, while the consuls marched, one against the Volsci, and the other against the Hettrurians. Furius routs the Æqui; but Servilius being too eager to attack the Volsci, is defeated. Æmilius gains a victory over the Hettrurians before Veii. The senate refuse him a triumph, because he had granted such conditions of peace to the Veientes, as the Romans thought too advantageous. Piqued at this affront, he endeavours to revive the animosities between the plebeians and the senate, the latter having delayed to make a distribution of the conquered lands.

War with the Æqui, the Volsci, and the Hettrurians. Servilius defeated by the Volsci. The Hettrurians defeated.

(*m*) Its source is in the little lake of Baccano, in the patrimony of St. Peter; and it empties itself into the Tiber, within five miles of Rome, at the village of *La Parca*, from whence it sometimes takes its name.

(*n*) This office, at first, was confined to the command of the troops, when the consul, upon some necessary occasion, was absent, or when the republic was obliged to send several armies into the field, and of course to increase the number of her generals. As soon as the expedition was over, the office ceased. But when the Romans extended their empire beyond Italy, the consuls, at the expiration of their office, were appointed governors over distant nations, with the title of proconsuls, and proprætors. They were not chosen by the people, but drew lots for one of the consular provinces, which, as well as the prætorian provinces, were declared by the senate. Their authority, both civil and military, was very great; but, at their return, they were accountable for their conduct.

R

276.



276.

The Fabii  
surrounded  
in an am-  
bush, and  
killed.

A meeting of the Hetrurians, where they oblige the Veientes to break the peace concluded the preceding year with the Romans without the consent of the other lucumonies. Defeat of the Fabii; who are surprised in an ambush by the Veientes, and being overpowered by numbers, are all killed on the spot. The Fabii we had men- tioned in the sequel of this history, were descended from Q. Fabius Vibulanus, an illustrious sprig of so great and unfortunate a family, who was decemvir, and thrice consul. The republic reckoned, among her unlucky days, that on which she lost so many brave patricians (o); it was not then lawful to begin any thing of consequence, no more than on the days called *nefasti* (o). The behaviour of the Fabii is unparalleled in the Roman history.

Menenius  
defeated by  
the Hetrur-  
rians.

This year proved unfortunate to the Romans: Menenius having pitched on an improper ground for his camp, is defeated by the Hetrurians, who advance towards Rome, and make themselves masters of the hill *Janiculum*. Horatius, receiving timely intelligence of the step, returns with the army which he had been leading against the Volsci, and gains some advantages, which prevent the enemy from laying siege to Rome. Still they continue in possession of the Janiculum, from whence they had an opportunity of ravaging the adjacent country.

277.

The Hetrur-  
rians intire-  
ly defeated.

The Hetrurians are intirely defeated by the consuls Servilius and Menenius.

Menenius being summoned by the tribunes of the people, to give an account of his conduct in the last war, is condemned in a fine of two thousand *asses* (p); and being sensibly affected, dies of grief. He was son of that Menenius Agrippa, who reconciled the people to the patricians. Notwithstanding the great pains the senate took, yet they could not stave off this sentence, which was pronounced by the people assembled in tribes, as in the affair of Coriolanus.

(n) The gate Carmentalis, near the temple of Janus, through which they marched out of the city, was thenceforth called *porta scelerata*, or the *accursed gate*.

(o) The *dies nefasti* also signified those days on which the courts were not open, that is, on which it was not lawful for the prætor to sit in judgment, and say these three solemn words, *do, dico, addico*; *I sit here to give laws, declare right, adjudge losses*: on the contrary, those days when it was lawful to say those words, were called *fasti* from *fari*. The *dies prostriduanæ*, or next day after the kalends, nones, or ides, were always reckoned unfortunate, because they had proved so to the state for several ages, and therefore were called *dies atri*.

(p) The *as* was so called *quasi æs*, or brass, being of that metal, and at first consisted of 1 lb. weight; but after many gradual reductions, was, by a law of Papi- rius, brought down to half an ounce, where it continued. It was equivalent to the tenth part of the *denarius*, so named from containing *denos asses*, and was worth about three farthings of our money.

278.



278.

The tribunes took particular care to have the same comitia in the trial of Servilius, whom they likewise summoned to appear before the people, under pretence that he had lost some of his troops, by pursuing the Etrurians with more courage than prudence: but this consul defended himself like a man that had a thorough confidence in the goodness of his cause, and was unanimously acquitted. This whole proceeding was a consequence of the animosity between the patricians and the plebeians. The real crime of Menenius and Servilius was, that during their consulate they never would nominate the commissioners, who were to make the distribution of lands.

Valerius triumphs at Rome over the Etrurians and the Sabines. Nautius, his colleague, had obtained some advantages against the Æqui and the Volsci, who had made an irruption upon the Latin territories.

279.

The eighth census: the number of citizens was found to be less than at the preceding census; for it amounted to no more than a hundred and three thousand. The Veientes obtain a truce of forty years. The tribunes embrace this opportunity to renew their demands.

280.

Cn. Genutius, the most daring of the tribunes, summons the consuls of this year to proceed immediately to the nomination of decemvirs; and he cites the consuls also of the preceding year for neglect. This factious tribune had bound himself by horrid oaths, to prosecute this affair to his last gasp: and they made him keep his word; for he was found dead in his bed a few days after. Some of the patricians were suspected of being accessory to his death; but as there appeared no marks of violence on his body, the people, ever superstitious, imagined that the gods disapproved of his scheme.

The senate might have profited by this event, had it not been for the imprudent behaviour of the consuls, who shewed an unseasonable severity against those that did not appear soon enough to give in their names. One Volero, formerly a centurion, having refused to enlist as a common soldier, the consuls ordered him to be immediately whipped with rods, the usual punishment of soldiers. Volero appeals to the people from the sentence of the consuls, and finds as many defenders as there were plebeians in the forum; the lictors are driven away, and wounded: even the consuls themselves ran the risk of losing their lives, if they had not quickly retired to the senate-house.

281.

The senate ordained *supplications* (q), to obtain of the gods a cessation of the contagious distemper, which depopulated Rome. These

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(q) The *supplicatio* was properly a solemn procession, feast, and thanksgiving for a victory, after the general had informed the senate of it by *litæ laureatæ*, letters wreathed with laurel.



supplications were a religious ceremony, observed in time of public calamity: the temples were opened, and the senate went in a solemn manner to the chief of them, a ceremony which has since been used, under the name of procession, by Christian churches. A vestal, named Virginia, was put to death for breaking her vow. The contagion ceased at that time, and they did not fail to attribute this favourable circumstance to the just punishment of the vestal.

Comitia by  
curiæ, and  
by tribes.

The people chuse Volero tribune, in order to screen him from the prosecution of the senate, by an office which rendered his person sacred, Volero proposes a new law, purporting, that the tribunes should no longer be chosen in the comitia by curiæ, but in those by tribes. The difference was great: the thirty curiæ could never be assembled but by a *senatus-consultum*; their decisions were to be confirmed by another decree of the senate; they were to be preceded by auguries; which the augurs, being patricians by birth, frequently interpreted to the advantage of their own body; and, lastly, none but citizens of Rome had a right to vote there. On the contrary, the comitia by tribes might be held without a decree of the senate, the augurs were not consulted; patricians were not admitted; the judgments, called *plebiscita*, had no need of confirmation; and the country tribes had a right to vote there. Thus Volero's law tended to hinder the patricians from ever having any influence in the election of the tribunes. These disputes are suspended, in consequence of a dreadful pestilence, which began to rage with greater fury than ever.

282.

Volero is created tribune a second time, with C. Lectorius, a man of less abilities than his colleague, but of a warmer temper: the senate set Appius Claudius, the greatest enemy of the plebeian faction, against them. His pride and inflexibility frustrated all the negotiations of his colleague, Quintius, who was a sage and moderate patrician; they even came to blows, and a civil war would have ensued, if they had carried arms with them to the assembly; but the Roman laws made it unlawful to wear any in the city. The senate, overcome by the turbulent spirit of the tribunes, resolve to let the people give their suffrage in regard to Volero's law; being the only way to save their authority, in appearance: and the law passed by a plurality of votes. To complete the misfortune, Lectorius had added two important articles to it; the first, that the ædiles should also be chosen in comitia by tribes; the second, that all affairs relating to the people, should be determined, not in the comitia by curiæ, but by tribes: at that time there were thirty.

Piso the historian, quoted by Livy, says, that on this occasion three tribunes were added to the former number, which was no more than two. This is not the opinion of Livy, nor of Dionysius Halicarnassensis.

War with  
the Æqui  
and the  
Volsci.

During these disturbances, the Æqui and the Volsci had, according to custom, made incursions on the territories of the republic. Quintius marched against the former, who fled as he approached: Appius advancing



advancing against the latter, is deserted by his troops, in the same manner as the consul Fabius had been formerly served, and for the same motives. He decimates his army; and gives orders for the centurions, and other officers, who had abandoned their posts, to be beheaded in his presence.

283.

Appius is cited by the tribunes to account for having opposed a petition which they had lately presented, to obtain the execution of the agrarian law. He did not so much as put on a mourning habit, as was the custom of the accused, in those times; but, on the day appointed, he appeared before the people in his ordinary dress, and spoke rather as a judge, than a culprit. The people were so surprized, as they durst not condemn him; his sentence was put off to another day; but, apprehending the disgrace of a condemnation, he killed himself. Some authors, however, say that he died of a natural death. He left a son behind him of the same name as himself: and after his death, the war was renewed against the Æqui and the Sabines.

284.

Expedition against the Volsci; Numicius carries off twenty gallees out of the harbour of Antium, which he demolishes.

The people, excited by their tribunes, refuse to assist at the comitia, for electing the next year's consuls. The senate and the nobility, with their clients, proceed to the election by themselves; but they took care to chuse consuls agreeable to the plebeians.

285.

Quintius obtains two great victories over the joint forces of the Æqui and the Volsci, whose army was considerably more numerous than his own; then he lays siege to Antium, which surrenders by capitulation. The Volscian nation was divided into two cantons, one of the Antiates, and the other of the Ecetrani (r): by the taking of Antium and Quintius's double victory, they were brought under subjection to the Romans. Servilius also obtained several advantages over the Sabines.

286.

A colony is sent to Antium: the senate were in hopes that this would be a means to dislumber the town of some of the poorest, and, at the same time, most factious citizens; but very few would give in their names; they preferred, says Livy, to sue for a partition of lands at Rome, than to accept of lands elsewhere. The government had therefore recourse to the Latins, and to the Hernici, to fill up this colony.

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(r) The Ecetrani were the inhabitants of *Ecetra*, a Volscian town, which stood on the confines of the Aurunci, a people of Campania.

Peace with  
the Æqui.

The war against the Sabines was attended with no remarkable event. The Æqui obtained a peace of the consul Fabius upon hard conditions.

287.

They commit some depredations on the territory of the Latins, who were allies of Rome; and Fabius is ordered to call them to an account.

Deus Fidius.

Posthumius consecrates the temple of *Deus Fidius*, that is, of Jupiter, witness and conservator of the faith of treaties.

288.

War with  
the Æqui  
again.

The Æqui refusing to deliver up the authors of the depredations committed against the Latins, war is declared against that nation. The consuls give them battle, with dubious success.

By the enumeration of the people made this year, it appeared that there were a hundred and fourscore thousand, two hundred and fifteen citizens, able to bear arms: this was the ninth census.

289.

The consul  
Furius de-  
feated by the  
Æqui and  
the Volsci.

The consul Furius is defeated by the Æqui, who had called the Volscian Fætrani to their assistance; he is besieged in his camp, and runs great risk of being destroyed, together with his whole army, by a much superior force. The consternation is great at Rome. The senate suspend all civil proceedings: which is what we call *justitium indicere*. Posthumius, the other consul, receives order to take care that the republic suffer no detriment: *videret ne quid respublica detrimenti caperet*. This was conferring an absolute power on the consuls, and was never used but in great extremity. Posthumius makes very great levies, and marches to disengage his colleague; the two consuls join their forces, and defeat the enemy several times.

The enemy  
defeated se-  
veral times.

290.

The plague breaks out again at Rome; and carries off the greatest part of the Roman youth, with a considerable number of senators, two consuls, and above one half of the tribunes; the ædiles were the only officers remaining, and Rome, for the first time, was governed by subaltern magistrates. The Æqui and the Volsci advance to the gates of Rome, after ravaging the territories of her allies. This city seemed to be on the brink of ruin, when, all of a sudden, her enemies broke up their camp, and marched towards Tusculum (s). Probably they were afraid of the pestilential air, which made such havock in the neighbourhood of Rome.

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(s) Tusculum was a city of Latium, about twelve miles from Rome, built on an eminence, frequented by many of the Roman nobility, and particularly by Cicero, who wrote his Tusculum disputations in this place. It is now called *Frescati*, and is famous for some of the finest gardens and pleasantest villas in Italy.



291.

Scarce had the infection ceased, when the consuls marched against the enemy, and coming up with them in the plains of the Hernici, and the discomfited them intirely in three successive battles. The Volsci intirely de-  
 'Terentillus (1), taking advantage of the absence of the consuls, pro-  
 poses a new law, which tended to diminish their authority, and that The tribune  
 of the senate. He desired commissaries to be appointed, for drawing Terentillus  
 up a body of laws, by which the form and manner of administering proposes the  
 justice should be ascertained. Rome, in fact, had no fixed laws; the establish-  
 kings in the beginning, and after them the consuls and the senate, ment of fix-  
 had taken upon them to judge almost arbitrarily; the Papirian code, ed laws,  
 which was only a compilement of some of the king's ordinances, was  
 absolutely insufficient; it must therefore be acknowledged, that Te-  
 rentillus's proposal would have deserved great commendation, had not  
 his motive been rather an aversion to the consuls, than love of justice.

292.

Cæso Quintius, a young patrician of great reputation, is cited by Cæso Quin-  
 the tribune Virginius, for the violences he had used in opposing the tius cited  
 'Terentian law. Upon not appearing, he is condemned to banish- before the  
 ment, and takes shelter among the Hetrurians. L. Quintius Cincin- people.  
 natus, his father, pays a considerable sum to indemnify those who  
 were bail for his son; and retires to a poor cottage to cultivate a spot  
 of ground, which was all he had to live upon.

293.

The tribunes spread a false report of a conspiracy formed by the  
 patricians: they pretended, that the latter, headed by Cæso, were  
 to come and destroy the tribunes, and to put the people to the sword.  
 The consul Claudius detects the fraud.

A Sabine, named Herdonius, seizes on the capitol, and the adjoin- Herdonius  
 ing fortrefs, by night. He had only a small army with him of about seizes on  
 'four thousand men, consisting chiefly of his clients, fugitive slaves, the capitol,  
 and exiles; yet he hoped that the slaves, and the Roman populace,  
 would declare in his favour. Nobody stirred; but the consul Va-  
 lerius, with the help of the Tusculans, retook the capitol before Her-  
 donius could receive any succours, notwithstanding the opposition  
 of the tribunes, who would fain have the people refuse to take  
 up arms, till the passing of the Terentian law. Valerius is killed  
 just in the very moment that he recovers the capitol, and the people  
 willingly contribute to the expences of a magnificent funeral for him.  
 The patrician party, substitute in his stead, in the consulate, L. Quin-  
 tus Cincinnatus, the father of Cæso; knowing nobody more capable  
 of opposing the encroachments of the tribunes. The deputies of the  
 senate found him employed in driving the plough; which he left, and  
 assumed the ensigns of consular authority. During the whole time

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(1) Some historians call him C. Terentius Arsa.

of his office, he behaved with a prudent steadiness, and maintained the public tranquillity.

The senate, at his request, publish a decree, forbidding any citizen to be chosen two years successively to the same office.

## 294.

Notwithstanding this decree, Virginus, and his colleagues, are created tribunes the third time. The senate proposed likewise to continue Quintius in the consulate; but he rejected the proposal as unworthy the integrity of the senate, and returned to his farm.

The Roman arms are triumphant over the Volsci and the Æqui. Fabius retakes Tusculum, which the Æqui had wrested from the Latins. Cornelius punishes the revolt of the Antiates by the death of their chiefs.

The tenth census, begun the preceding year, and interrupted by the taking of the capitol, is finished this year. The number of citizens proves to be a hundred and thirty two thousand and forty nine.

## 295.

Virginus, and his colleagues, are again continued in the tribunate, notwithstanding the opposition of the patricians.

The troops of the republic are in very great danger by the imprudence of the consul Minutius, who had suffered himself to be led into a valley, where he was hemmed in, on all sides, by the Æqui. Nautius, the other consul, was employed against the Sabines: in this emergency Quintius Cincinnatus was created dictator; and the deputies found him, as before, driving the plough. The dictator makes all the able bodied citizens take up arms; with these numerous troops he arrives at the enemy's camp, and surrounds them in their entrenchments. Finding themselves attacked, at the same time, on both sides, by the consul, and by the dictator, they are forced to surrender at discretion, and to pass under the yoke. Their general and their chief officers were carried to Rome in irons, and served to adorn the dictator's triumph.

The consul Minutius is deposed; *you must act now*, says the dictator to him, *in an inferior rank, till you have learnt the art of war well enough to command in chief.* Volscius, one of the tribunes of the people, being convicted of calumny and false testimony against Cæso Quintius, is condemned to perpetual banishment, and Cæso is recalled home. Quintius resigns the dictatorship at the end of sixteen days: he might have been loaded with riches, as he was with honours; they offered him lands, slaves, and cattle; but he refused them all, and returned to his cottage.

## 296.

Virginus, and his colleagues, are created tribunes the fifth time; they

The Æqui  
and Volsci  
defeated.

New distur-  
bances in  
Rome.



they recal Volscius, and reinstate him in his office. The insolence of the tribunes increased with the public calamities: intelligence had been received, that the Sabines and the Æqui were wasting the territory of Rome and her allies with fire and sword; yet the tribunes oppose any further levies, unless the senate would consent, that the tribunes of the people should be increased from five to ten. The senate consented, in compliance with the opinion of Appius Claudius; but on condition that they should not be continued in office above a year. The consuls forthwith marched against the enemy, and put them to flight.

297.

The senate had flattered themselves, that by increasing the number of tribunes, it would be easier to divide them: the latter soon perceived the design, and resolved to disappoint the conscript fathers. Heretofore it had been sufficient, if one tribune opposed the decisions of the whole body, to render them null and of no effect: the new tribunes swore to be determined by a plurality of voices. Icilius puts himself at their head, and compels the senate to yield to the tribunes, who began now to assume the right of convening the senate. He obliges them to pass a law for putting the people in possession of all the lands that had been usurped from them, and that those which were as yet unoccupied, should be distributed gratis among the plebeians.

298.

This seemed a prelude to the revival of the agrarian law, of which no notice had been taken for some time. Icilius and his colleagues, having been continued again in the tribunate, revived the scheme once more, and insisted vigorously on its being put in execution: the people are assembled in comitia to judge of this law, but the patrician youth disperse them by open force. The Posthumii, the Temponii, and the Clælii, who had signalized themselves on this occasion, are cited before the tribunes, and condemned in a fine for default, and their goods are sold to pay it; but the patricians indemnify them at the public expence.

The tribunes, out of revenge, opposed, according to custom, the levying of troops: but the senate, by the advice of Q. Cincinnatus, determined that the patricians should take the field, followed by their clients only, and that they should invoke the protection of the gods for such plebeians as would join them. This was sufficient to rouse the emulation and ardour of the bravest of the plebeians. A cohort of eight hundred veterans was immediately formed, under the command of a very gallant man, named L. Siccius, and marched to join the consuls. The Æqui, who had ravaged the territory of the Tusculans, those faithful allies of Rome, were routed; and lost upwards of seven thousand men. From such a victory, the consuls might



might naturally have expected the honours of a triumph; yet they were disappointed. Siccius marched back with such expedition as to get to Rome before them; and he complained, that out of hatred to the plebeians, they had charged him with an undertaking, where he and his cohort must have lost either their honour or their lives, had it not been for a lucky circumstance.

299.

Siccius, being made tribune, causes Romilius and Veturius, consuls of the preceding year, to be condemned in a considerable fine. He resumes the pursuit of the Terentian law, and so strongly enforces the advantages thereof, that most of the senators were for agreeing to it. The consular Romilius, whom Siccius had lately prosecuted, seconded the motion. The tribune surprised, would fain rival him in generosity, and declared, that he remitted, in the name of the people, the fine in which he had been condemned. But Romilius rejected this favour; saying, *I should think myself guilty of sacrilege, if I did not pay this fine; the money belongs to the gods.* And, indeed, the sums arising from fines, were applied to the worship of Ceres.

Three deputies were sent to Athens to collect the laws of Draco, Solon, and other most celebrated legislators of Greece. These deputies were Sp. Posthumius, Serv. Sulpitius, and A. Manlius. Upon their return, commissaries were to be appointed, for chusing such laws as should appear most suitable to the present constitution of Rome.

The consuls of this year, to conciliate the good will of the tribunes, cause a law to be enacted, whereby every magistrate was empowered to fine those who did not shew proper respect to his dignity. This had been heretofore the privilege of consuls only; by this law it was extended to tribunes.

300.

This year all Italy was afflicted with a pestilence, which hindered the Romans and their neighbours from entering upon any military enterprize. The consul Quintilius, his successor Sp. Furius, and four tribunes, all died of the contagion; which likewise carried off almost all the slaves, and very near one half of the people. The pestilence was succeeded by a famine, almost all the lands having remained untilld for want of hands.

## PARTICULAR REMARKS:

THE revolution which changed the Roman monarchy into a republic ought no longer to surprise us, after what has been mentioned in regard to that spirit of independency and conquest which animated the Romans. If they had wanted reasons, they would have sought for pretences to abolish the regal dignity; but Tarquin furnished them with the best of arguments. We shall not dispute the great qualities with which this king was perhaps endowed, though it

is



is but too common to refuse to unfortunate princes, the possession of any one good quality, and as wantonly to bestow every virtue on those whom fortune has crowned with success. Neither shall we expatiate on his pride, his avarice, and his cruelty ; these perhaps are exaggerated by historians. But we may affirm, without danger of being contradicted, that he acted very impolitically, in attempting to trample upon the necks of a people, who could hardly submit to the limited power of their kings, or, as in some measure we may stile them, their generals. Less provocation would have been sufficient to a nation, who were already disposed to throw off the yoke. Jealous of their independence, they could not but be alarmed at the very infancy of regal government, whose foundations, though unsettled at that time, might every day receive additional strength. Ambitious to extend their power by arms, had not they reason to be apprehensive of the pacific disposition of some of their kings ? And might not more Numas ascend the throne ?

Nothing is more easy than to accommodate designs to past events : for my part, I shall not attribute any views, nor any depth of design, to the Romans, but such as are plainly proved by facts. Far am I from thinking, that they had thoughts in those early days of subduing the whole globe : the most they pretended to, was to be, some day or other, masters of Italy, as Tarquin had made them believe by the artifice above mentioned. I shall even grant, that as yet, they had only vague and general notions of aggrandizing themselves ; that it was their inclination which directed them naturally to this pursuit ; that this made them greedy to embrace whatever was conducive to the favourite object, and as ready to reject whatever might divert them from it. Still it would be saying more than I advanced at first, for our inclinations have oftentimes an absolute sway over us ; they are a kind of instinct, which conducts us more safely, and more directly, than any rational plan whatever.

The Romans, as soon as they banished their kings, thought themselves happy. They were incessantly repeating the sweet name of liberty, and the harmonious sound of the love of their country. These were the two main springs of their conduct ; and, upon consideration, we shall find, that they were an essential part of their character. To be animated with the love of liberty, was, according to the Romans, to form a fantastic notion of independency, and to vow perpetual enmity to kings. To love their country, was to adopt its ambitious views, and to vow perpetual war against the human race. They were not sensible that we are free indeed, when we owe subjection only to the laws, to magistrates who are its depositaries, and to princes who are its protectors ; they were not sensible that to love our country, we must love mankind. They should have banished tyranny and despotism, rather than monarchy ; they should have studied rather the happiness, than the glory of their country.

When once the Romans were mistaken on two such important objects, it is not at all surprizing, that they struggled so hard for liberty, without



without ever being able to enjoy its advantages. Neither is it in the least surprizing, that their love for their country should have inspired them with so many false virtues, or rather should have filled their minds with so many wild and extravagant ideas.

The Romans, after the expulsion of their kings, were far from having all the independency they desired. On the contrary, they suddenly fell upon a system that was almost a complete aristocracy, which, in the opinion of the best judges, is one of the severest governments that mankind can submit to. In a well regulated monarchy, the subjects are all so inconsiderable, when compared to the prince, that they seem equal; and from this apparent equality arises a real and perfect liberty, that is, such a one as I have been explaining. Even to persons of the greatest distinction, nothing more is due than reverence and respect, but no obedience; they are raised above the level of the rest, but they have no authority over them. In an aristocracy, the people are subject to a multitude of petty tyrants; and yet the Romans could not avoid falling into this misfortune. It is true, that during the war against Tarquin, there were several comitia by tribes. And at one of those comitia, the consul Valerius Poplicola had ordered the lictors to lower the fasces before the people, thereby giving to understand, that he looked upon them as the real depositaries of the supreme power; but all this was still only a shadow of liberty. “ The  
 “ patricians, says the abbé de Mably, would have imagined they had  
 “ gained nothing at all by the banishment of their kings, unless  
 “ they governed as despotically as those princes. The consuls  
 “ never convened the comitia but by centuries, and as the patri-  
 “ cians were the predominant party at those meetings, they agreed to  
 “ every proposal of the senate, who, to reward them for their com-  
 “ pliance, suffered them to exercise all sorts of oppression over the  
 “ plebeians. Thus the people were driven from their inheritance,  
 “ condemned to slavery, or to ignominious punishments; while  
 “ every patrician was a Tarquin.”

Hence we may judge of that love of their country, for which the Romans are so greatly extolled. Here we behold the patricians, in the very infancy of the republic, oppressing the plebeians, who, in their turn, will soon endeavour to crush the patricians. Ever at variance, because they are ever endeavouring to enslave each other, they seem united only when they are subduing their neighbours, because then a common interest, their chief and predominant passion, leaves them but one and the same spirit.

In general, it is a mistake to imagine, that there are more virtues in a republican, than in a monarchical government. I am apt to think, that in the former there are more republican virtues; and in the latter, more of those which belong to a monarchy; and that honour and glory are commonly the principle of both. In republics, honour attends him who sacrifices himself for his country, and for the public good; in monarchies, it attends the person that performs this same sacrifice for the service of the prince, who is the father of his country,



country, and the founder of the public good. In all governments, mankind will be excited to great exploits by the love of glory, as virtuous men will be excited by the love of the human species.

If we consider the proud and turbulent disposition of the Romans, we shall easily perceive that they abounded in people ready to undertake great actions, with a view to their own glory; and that they had but few of those who do every thing for their country's sake, or with the sole desire of being useful to their fellow citizens, even were they to foresee that their actions should expose them to the public hatred and contempt in their life time, or (which is much stronger) should be buried in eternal oblivion. Brutus seems to me more deserving of pity than admiration, even taking, as I have done, the passage out of Livy, in the most favourable sense. If he heard the cries of nature, this only made him the more unhappy, because he was obliged to stifle them. Humanity and paternal tenderness required he should have used his utmost endeavours to save the lives of his children, and to mitigate their punishment; the example would have been still sufficiently striking: but glory called upon him to put them to death without hesitating; and he did it. Can it be supposed that a man will listen to the cries of his country, when he is deaf to those of nature? We shall see, in the sequel of this history, other instances still stronger than these. We shall see the Romans devoting themselves to death, at a time when their superstition makes them believe that such sacrifices are necessary for the preservation of the republic. The motive of those actions is more difficult to determine; they may have sprung from a real love for their country; and in that case, instead of saying with M. de Saint Evremont, that the Decii, who sacrificed themselves for the welfare of a society, of which they were to be no longer members, appear to me as downright fanatics; I should say, that they rather seem to have attained the highest pitch of heroism. It is possible, nevertheless, that they were actuated by the principle of self-love; for the mind can in an instant frame to itself, and even enjoy, a long futurity. At the very moment that a man is making such sacrifices, his head is filled with the idea of his future glory, he hears the high encomiums that are bestowed upon him after his death, he beholds the flowers that are strewed upon his tomb, and the monuments erected to his memory; in a word, he coexists with posterity. I grant we shall likewise behold some actions worthy of admiration, actions free from all suspicion of private interest, and we shall take care to point them out: yet we shall still have a right to affirm, that, in general, the Romans did not carry the real love of their country, which is that of their fellow citizens, as far as people imagine; even if we had no other proof thereof, than that determined study of the two orders of the republic to humble each other, which at length ended in the ruin of the republic.

At the time of the regifuge, the Romans had already experienced some part of the mischiefs, arising from the too great inequality of the two orders, which of course involved them in divisions and perpetual animosities; and



and one would have been tempted to think, that in framing the republic, this inequality would have been abolished. After suppressing the regal dignity, it was an easy matter to destroy the work of kings; the public hatred might invite them to take this step. “ But, as the  
 “ abbé de Mably observes, Brutus would have been guilty of a ca-  
 “ pital mistake, if at the time that every body’s eyes were fixed upon  
 “ him, he had attempted, with a view of restoring real liberty in  
 “ Rome, to revive that equality of fortunes, which had rendered the  
 “ Romans so happy a people, before the distinction of noble and  
 “ plebeian families, the institution of centuries . . . . . this would have  
 “ estranged the two orders of the republic from their principal object,  
 “ would have created mutual animosities, and made a diversion in  
 “ favor of Tarquin and tyranny.” To this political reason I shall add another, which may be considered as a moral one; that it is impossible there should ever be a perfect equality of conditions amongst mankind: no doubt, but nature desires it, and that is all it can do.

Let us not imagine, that Romulus aimed at this equality, upon making an equal division of lands among the inhabitants of his new colony. The policy which this prince shewed in the rest of his conduct, absolutely contradicts this supposition. He made an equal division, either because it would have been dangerous to begin with establishing distinctions among a wild rapacious people, who had put themselves under his command, all on the same condition; or because the lands to be divided were so inconsiderable, that he could not have given a larger portion to one than the other, without depriving the latter of mere necessities. The reader may recollect, that by this first division, each citizen had about two acres of land. Romulus left it to time and circumstances to produce an inequality of conditions among his subjects; and even he himself endeavoured, soon after, to make some distinction among them, by instituting the order of patricians. Hence the happy state of equality of conditions among the Romans, was, as it must naturally be, of very short duration. Legislators who have endeavoured to establish this perfect equality, had more love than knowledge of human nature. Little did they consider, that our inclinations, abilities, and passions, being infinitely diversified, must be productive of so many real distinctions, which it is impossible to abolish. To endeavour to put all mankind upon a level, is opening an immense field to the passions: they espy the high stations which have been imprudently left vacant, and they perpetually dart towards this object, as their proper quarry. The only equality that can subsist amongst mankind, is that of internal happiness; the only one interesting; the only one worth desiring.



## FOURTH CENTURY.

Year of Rome 301.

Before Christ 453.

**T**HE people were assembled by *curiae*, and ten commissioners appointed to compile a body of laws. These had the name of *decemvirs*, and were invested, for one whole year, with the supreme power, while all other authority was superseded. It was settled, that during their administration, there should be neither consuls, tribunes, aediles, nor quaestors; that there should be no appeal from their decision; and that they should be the sole arbiters of peace, war, and justice. Such immense prerogatives occasioned many to appear as candidates for this office; the haughty Appius Claudius grew popular and cringing, as did also T. Genucius, who had been chosen consul with him. They were nominated the first. To them were joined P. Sestius the consul, who had pronounced the decree for creating the decemvirate; T. Romilius, who, two years before, had been the first that voted for the Terentian law; Sp. Posthumius, Serv. Sulpitius, and A. Manlius, who had been sent into Greece; and, lastly, for the other three places, they chose C. Julius, T. Veturius, and P. Horatius, or Curiatius.

302.

Appius and Genucius resign the consulship. The decemvirs enter upon their office with a general applause. To avoid affecting any pompous appearance, they agreed among themselves, that only one of them should have the chief authority for a day, and that they should succeed by rotation; the decemvir of the day was to have the twelve fasces, but the rest should be distinguished from the other senators, only by having a simple officer, called *accensus* (x), to walk before them. Their behaviour corresponded with this external simplicity; the meanest citizen found them impartial judges, and warm protectors; if, by chance, a person thought himself injured by the decision of a decemvir, he might have recourse to his colleague, which was not considered as an appeal, but a revival of the sentence.

The decemvirs propose ten tables of laws, which are fixed up in the forum, to be examined and approved by the people. Each of the decemvirs had undertaken to compile one of the tables, which was assigned him by lot. In this task they were greatly assisted by a Greek, named Hermodorus, who happened to be then at Rome, and interpreted the laws of Greece to them: in acknowledgment for this favour, a statue was erected to him in the forum. The new

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(x) The *accensi* and *præcones* were public criers, who called witnesses, and signified the adjournment of the court, and the like: but the *accensi* more nearly attended on the magistrates.

laws are approved by a decree of the senate, and afterwards at an assembly of the people convened by centuries.

Appius causes a report to be spread, that there were still two tables wanting to perfect the new code. The design of this ambitious man was to have the decemvirate continued, and to be at the head of it himself. In this he succeeded, notwithstanding the opposition of his colleagues, who, in order to disappoint him, made him president at the comitia in which they were to proceed to a new election. The custom was, in such case, that the president should propose to the people, the persons qualified for this office; but it was never known, that any one had proposed himself: Appius did what had been never done before, and was chosen the first.

303.

Of those who were elected with him, Q. Fabius was the only person that deserved this rank, the rest were hardly known by name; and Appius, to make his court to the people, caused three plebeians, viz. Cæso Duilius, Q. Petilius, and Sp. Oppius, to be raised to this supreme dignity. The first time that the new decemvirs appeared in public, the people were frightened to see them attended with a hundred and twenty lictors; each had twelve, and they carried the ax before them, contrary to the custom of the consuls, who had left them off for a considerable time, except they went into the country. The people perceived, when it was too late, that the persons they had chosen to govern them, were not magistrates, but tyrants.

Tyranny of  
the decem-  
virs.

Outrages committed by the decemvirs. A great number of Roman citizens take refuge in the country. The usual time of holding the comitia expires, and no mention is made of convening the people, in order to proceed to the choice of magistrates for the ensuing year.

Two tables  
added to the  
ten.

The decemvirs propose the two last tables of the laws; and the intire code bears the celebrated name of *the laws of the twelve tables*. These were the source of the civil law of the Romans, which even to this day, is the basis of jurisprudence in a great part of Europe. Among the last laws of the decemvirs, there was one which might be considered as a further proof of their tyrannical designs: this was the law forbidding patricians and plebeians to intermarry: it convinced the public, that the decemvirs wanted to hinder the union of the two parties, that they might reign with greater security.

304.

The decemvirs continue themselves in office, of their own authority. Their tyranny grows more bare faced, and more violent than ever; and not only the decemvirs reigned thus imperiously; there was, moreover, a band of young patricians, who, in return for supporting the decemvirs in their tyrannical proceedings, were screened from justice, so as to commit all manner of crimes with impunity. Nobody dared to avenge the cause of oppressed liberty; there seemed to be a profound calm: but the storm was gathering. A tragical adventure,  
much



Consuls, decemvirs, and military tribunes.	Y. of Rome.	Y. bef. J. C.	Eminent and learned men.	Contemporary princes.
<i>Consuls.</i> P. Sestius Capitolinus. T. Menenius Lanatus.	301	453	Aristophanes, an Athenian poet, flourished towards the eighty sixth olympiad.	<i>Kingdom of Judea.</i> Eliashib, son of Joiakim, is chosen the third high priest after the deliverance, the year before Christ
<i>Decemvirs.</i> App. Claudius Crassinus. T. Genucius Augurinus.	302	452	Out of fifty comedies which he wrote, there are only eleven extant, intitled, <i>Plutus</i> , the <i>Nephelai</i> , the <i>Batrachoi</i> , the <i>Hippes</i> , the <i>Acharnes</i> , the <i>Spheces</i> , the <i>Orrithes</i> , the <i>Irene</i> , the <i>Ecclesiastusai</i> , the <i>Theoproposai</i> , and <i>Sysistrata</i> .	452 Nehemiah, the son of Hachaliah, of a sacerdotal family, hearing that the neighbours of the Jews, and the officers of the kings of Persia, had destroyed the walls of Jerusalem, and broke the gates of the city, complaineth to Artaxerxes, to whom he was cup-bearer. He obtaineth leave from that prince to come into Judea, with orders to rebuild the walls of Jerusalem, and to cover the towers of the temple. He repairs to Jerusalem, with this order, the twentieth year of the reign of Artaxerxes, before Christ . . .
P. Sestius Capitolinus. T. Romilius Rocus. Sp. Posthumus Albus. Servius Sulpitius Camerinus. A. Manlius Vulso. Caius Julius Iulus. T. Veturius Crassus. P. Horatius or Curiatius Tergeminus. App. Claudius Crassinus.	303	451	These performances shew his great ability in ridiculing and exposing vice, without any regard to persons. His <i>Nephelai</i> , or comedy of the clouds, contains a very keen satyr against Socrates the philosopher. It is translated into French, as well as the <i>Plutus</i> , by M. Dacier. The <i>Orrithes</i> , or the comedy of the birds, is translated by M. Boivin junior, and that of the <i>Spheces</i> or wasps, is ingeniously imitated by M. Racine in his <i>Plaideurs</i> .	445 It is from this edict of Artaxerxes for the rebuilding of Jerusalem, that we reckon, according to the ancient fathers, the seventy weeks of years, at the expiration of which the Messiah was to die, pursuant to the revelation made to Daniel, by the angel Gabriel. Christ was crucified the fourth year of the seventh week, and thus the prophecy was literally fulfilled, that in the middle of the last week, the sacrifice and the oblation shall
Q. Fabius Vibulanus. M. Cornelius Maluginensis. Marcus Sergius. Lucius Minucius. Titus Antonius Merenda. Marcus Rabuleius. Cæso Duilius. Quintus Petilius. Spurius Oppius. App. Claudius Crassinus, and the other decemvirs of the preceding year. They are suppressed; and two consuls are substituted in their stead; namely,	304	450	Cratinus, the Athenian, died in the eighty seventh olympiad. This poet wrote one and twenty comedies, and nine times gained the prize. He took such general liberties in his compositions, that he indirectly attacked the chief magistrates of the republic, and the most celebrated philosophers. Quintilian expresses an esteem for his plays, and recommends	
<i>Consuls.</i> L. Valerius Poplicola Potitus. M. Horatius Barbatus. Lar. Herminius Aquilinus.	305	449		
T. Virginus Tricoftus. M. Geganius Macerinus.	306	448		
Caius Julius Iulus. T. Quintius Capitolinus, 4 <sup>o</sup> . Agrippa Furius Fufus. M. Ge-	307	447		



much like that of Lucretia, produced very near the same effect. The *Æqui* and the *Sabines* having renewed their usual incursions, the decemvirs raised ten legions in a hurry, five of which, under the command of M. Cornelius, were sent against the *Æqui*, and three under Q. Fabius, against the *Sabines*. Both these armies were defeated, which was owing to the soldiers, who chose rather to let the enemy conquer, than to encrease the power of the decemvirs, by rendering them victorious; the other two remained at Rome, under the command of Appius, and his colleague Oppius. Here Appius falling in love with a young plebeian virgin, named Virginia, resolved to have her seized by one of his clients, who laid claim to her in presence of the decemvir, under a pretence that she was his property, as the daughter of one of his slaves. Virginius, her father, was at that time in the army, and served under Cornelius as a centurion; being informed of what was transacting, he sets out for Rome, and arrives just at the very time they were carrying off his daughter; at this sight he is enraged, and snatching up a butcher's knife, which happened to be near him, to save his daughter's honour, he plunges it into her heart. This occasioned an insurrection. While Rome is in the greatest commotion, two senators, L. Valerius, and M. Horatius, having put themselves at the head of the malecontents, Virginius returns to the camp, and tells his comrades the melancholy story. Immediately they snatched up their colours, and refusing to pay obedience to their generals, they took their way to Rome, and encamped on mount Aventine; where they chose ten officers for their chiefs, by the name of *military tribunes*. On the other hand, Numitorius, Virginius's uncle, and Icilius, to whom she had been promised in marriage, followed the same example in Fabius's army, who had been already incensed against their general, for having caused a gallant man, whose name was Siccus (y), to be assassinated: the soldiers, therefore, resolved to desert their commander, and chusing to themselves ten military tribunes, they went and joined the army on mount Aventine.

The second retreat of the people to the sacred mount. The troops being assembled on mount Aventine, imagined that the best way to obtain the restoration of the tribunate, was to retire to that very same mount, on which they had heretofore obtained the creation of those magistrates. Thither, therefore, they retired, but without committing any violence by the way; and they were soon followed by almost all the people of Rome. The senate met, and obliged the decemvirs, who had scarce any adherents left, to promise to resign their authority. Valerius and Horatius are sent to the *sacred mount* with full power, and conclude a treaty, which restored the tribunes and consuls, with a right of appealing from the latter to the decision of the people. The decemvirs resign. The people who had retired to mount Aventine, chose their tribunes in the presence of the *pontifex*

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(y) He is called by other writers Sicius Dentatus.



Consuls and military tribunes.	T. of Rome.	T. b. f. J. C.	Eminent and learned men.	Cotemporary princess
<p><i>Consuls.</i> M. Genucius Augurinus. Caius Curtius Philo. <i>Military Tribunes.</i> A. Sempronius Atratinus. L. Attilius Longus. T. Clodius Siculo. <i>They resign at the end of three months, and in their stead are substituted two consuls, viz.</i> <i>Consuls.</i> L. Papirius Mugillanus. L. Sempronius Atratinus. T. Quintius Capitolinus. 5°.  M. Geganius Macerinus. 2°.  M. Fabius Vibulanus. Posthumius Ebucius Elva. C. Furius Pacilus Fusus. M. Papirius Crassus. Proculus Geganius Macerinus. L. Menenius Lanatus. T. Quintius Capitolinus. 6°.  Agrippa Menenius Lanatus. <i>Military tribunes.</i> Mamercus Emilius Mamercinus. L. Quinctius Cincinnatus. L. Julius Iulus. <i>Consuls.</i> M. Geganius Macerinus. L. Sergius Fidenas. M. Cornelius Maluginensis. L. Papirius Crassus. C. Julius Iulus. L. Virginus Tricostus. C. Julius Iulus. 2°.  L. Virginus Tricostus. 2°.  <i>Military</i></p>	<p>308  309      310  311  312  313  314  315  316  317  318  319</p>	<p>446  445      444  443  442  441  440  439  438  437  436  435</p>	<p>mends the reading of them to his pupils. Cratinus took care to raise his genius with wine, pretending that a water drinker could never make good verses. Horace says, in the beginning of one of his epistles to Mæcenas : <i>Prisco si credis Mæcenas doctæ, Cratino, Nulla placere diu, nec vivere carmina possunt.</i> <i>Quæ scribuntur aquæ potantibus.</i> We have but a very small number of this poet's verses remaining. Democritus, a philosopher, born at Abdera, died at the age of about a hundred years, in the ninety-fourth olympiad, or, according to other authors, in the hundred and fourth. He had so great a thirst for knowledge, that he travelled into Egypt, Persia, and Chaldaea, to visit and to confer with the learned of those countries; it is even said that he travelled as far as India, to converse with the Gymnosophists. The fruit of so much toil was that he contracted an habit of incessant laughter, which made him pass for a fool among his countrymen. Hippocrates was sent for; he saw the pretended patient, conversed with him, and</p>	<p>shall cease, by the sacrifice and oblation of him whose type they were. Nehemiah, after repairing the walls and gates of Jerusalem, makes a solemn dedication the year before Christ 434 " The seventh " month of the sacred year, happening " to be at the same " time, says M. Godeau, " a great number " of people flocked " from all parts of " Judea, to the capital city, in order to " celebrate the festivals, which took up " nearly this whole " month. Ezra (who " had always acted in " concert with Nehemiah) read the book " of the law in the " presence of the people; who finding in " how many different " ways they had broke " it, sighed and wept " bitterly. Then it " was that the sacred " fire which had been " concealed by Jeremiah, was found, or " rather that the thick " water which was " found in its stead, " being thrown upon " the wood and the " sacrifice, kindled of " itself at the rays of " the sun. Artaxerxes, hearing of this " miracle, sent fresh " presents to the temple, and gave orders " for surrounding " it with walls, and " doing</p>



*maximus* Q. Furius, whom the senate had appointed to preside at the election, in order to give it a greater sanction. The first three named, were Virginius, Icilius, and Numitorius. “ The people, says father Catrou, would shew thereby, that they owed the recovery of their liberty to the father and avengers of Virginia, as Rome heretofore was indebted for her liberty to the father and avengers of Lucretia.”

Consuls appointed.

Valerius and Horatius are named consuls : they get two laws passed in favour of the people, one that the decrees of the comitia by tribes should bind the patricians, whereas hitherto they only bound the plebeians ; the other, that no magistrates should be created hereafter with sovereign power, and without appeal to the people, and that the authors of any such innovation might be killed with impunity. The law declaring the persons of the tribunes sacred, was likewise renewed.

The decemvirs had been promised, that no inquiry should be made into their past administration ; but the tribunes, finding their power so well established, did not observe this promise. Appius is impeached by Virginius, and, to avoid the ignominy of a public execution, he makes away with himself. Some historians pretend, that he was put to death in prison by a secret order from the tribunes ; and what confirms this suspicion, is that Sp. Oppius, Appius's colleague, having been also imprisoned, at the accusation of Numitorius the tribune, was found dead the same day ; the other decemvirs, frightened at those imprisonments, which were followed by sudden deaths, went into voluntary banishment.

The two last tables of the laws are confirmed.

The Æqui, Volsci, and Sabines defeated.

Horatius defeats the Sabines, and Valerius the Æqui and the Volsci. The senate, being offended at the laws which those consuls had promoted in favour of the plebeians, refuse them a triumph ; which they obtain of the people. This triumph had a place in the *fasti capitolini*, so that there is all the reason in the world to think it was considered as a legal triumph ; and this was a new privilege obtained by the people.

At the election of tribunes for the following year, the people could agree only in regard to five ; the old tribunes would fain take advantage from hence, to continue with the new magistrates : but Duilius, one of their college, prevented this usurpation by a law, enacting, that in such cases, the tribunes newly elected, should have a right to name their colleagues, in order to fill up the number of ten. Duilius gave another mark of his affection for the public weal, by making a regulation, that two patricians should be chosen into the college of tribunes, reckoning that this would be a sure way to preserve a good understanding between the nobility and the people. Sp. Tarpeius, and A. Æternius, senators and consulars, did not disdain to accept of this office ; but this new establishment was not lasting.

305.

Lex Trebonia.

L. Trebonius, one of the tribunes, got a law passed, by which it was ordained, that, for the future, the magistrate who proposed holding



Consuls and military tribunes.	Y. of Rome.	Y. bef. J. C.	Eminent and learned men.	Cotemporary princes.
<i>Military tribunes.</i> M. Fabius Vibulanus. M. Fossius Flaccinator. L. Sergius Fidenas. L. Pinarius Rufus Mamercinus. L. Furius Medullinus. Sp. Posthumius Albus. <i>Consuls.</i> T. Quintius Pennus Cincinnatus. C. Julius Mento. C. Papirius Crassus. L. Julius Iulus. L. Sergius Fidenas. 2°. Hostus Laetretius Tricipitinus. T. Quintius Pennus Cincinnatus. 2°. A. Cornelius Cossus. L. Papirius Mugillanus. C. Servilius Structus Ahala. <i>Military tribunes.</i> T. Quintius Pennus Cincinnatus. C. Furius Pacilus. M. Posthumius Albus. A. Cornelius Cossus. A. Sempronius Atratinus. L. Furius Medullinus. L. Quintius Cincinnatus. L. Horatius Barbatus. App. Claudius Crassus. Spurius Nautius Rutilus. Lucius Sergius. Sextus Julius Iulus. <i>Consuls.</i> C. Sempronius Atratinus. Q. Fabius Vibulanus. <i>Military tribunes.</i> L. Manlius Vulso. Q. Antonius Merenda. L. Papirius Mugillanus. L. Servilius Structus. <i>Consuls.</i>	320    321  322  323  324  325  326   327   328   329   330   331	434    433  432  431  430  429  428   427   426   425   424   423	<p>in the end was struck with admiration. Hippocrates perceived that Democritus laughed at the follies and irregularities of mankind, and of course that he had just cause of perpetual laughter. The most celebrated opinion of this philosopher is that of the plurality of worlds.</p> <p>Empedocles, a celebrated Pythagorean philosopher, born at Agrigentum in Sicily, lived in the eighty fourth olympiad.</p> <p>He was also a poet and historian; but of all the works attributed to him, there remains only an explanation of the sphere, which some believe to have been rather written by Demetrius. He had written a long poem on the principles of natural philosophy, and the different effects arising from the mixture of elements. It is thought, that this is what made Lucretius bestow such great encomiums upon him in his first book, where he gives him the epithet of <i>divine</i>.</p> <p>Eupolis, an Athenian, flourished in the eighty fifth olympiad.</p> <p>Horace, in one of his satyrs, ranks him with Cratinus and Aristophanes, among the founders of the ancient comedy, which lashed the vices and follies of mankind in general,</p> <p>and</p>	<p>“ doing every thing “ that was necessary for its ornament “ and defence, which made the author of “ the second book of Maccabees say that “ he built a temple: (Torniel, and some others, pretend that they found also the ark and mercy seat, and the altar of perfumes) “ but “ this is not sufficiently proved. Nehemiah after his arrival, governed the “ Jews the space of twelve years, with “ equal wisdom and piety, omitting nothing that could “ contribute to make them continue faithful to the new covenant, which they “ had solemnly contracted with God. “ He collected a large library, which, as some will have, consisted of all sorts “ of books, and, as others pretend, of those only which “ related either to the religion or civil government of the “ Jews. According to the conjecture of several, Ezra collected all the canonical books of the “ sacred scripture, freed them from the “ corruptions, which had crept into them, and distinguished them into “ two and twenty books, after the number of letters “ in</p> <p>G 3</p>

holding the comitia for the election of tribunes, should be obliged to go on with the election in all the following assemblies, till the number of ten tribunes was completed by the suffrages of the people. By this law, the tribunes first chosen were deprived of the power to name their colleagues; and it took from the patricians any further hopes of being admitted to the tribunate.

306.

The tribunes of this year were so quiet, that the patrician youth dared to commit several insults against the plebeians. But the consuls, by their prudent conduct, restored things to order.

307.

The Æqui  
and the  
Volsci de-  
feated.

The consuls obtain a complete victory over the Æqui and the Volsci.

The inhabitants of Ardea and Aricia, chose the Romans arbitrators, in a dispute of a long standing, about a district situated in the neighbourhood of Corioli. The Romans adjudged the district to themselves, pretending that it belonged to Corioli, which was one of their conquests.

The people take upon them to nominate quaestors, whereas these magistrates had hitherto been appointed by the consuls.

308.

New dissen-  
sions at  
Rome.

The encroachments of the people on the prerogatives of the nobility, did not end here: the tribunes demanded that the plebeians might be admitted to the supreme magistracy. Canuleius, a cunning active man, was then the leading tribune: he proposes that the plebeians shall be admitted to the consulate, and be chosen at the comitia; and he further demands a repeal of the law, by which intermarriages between plebeian and patrician families were prohibited. Upon the first advice of those domestic troubles, the Æqui, the Volsci, and the Veientes invade the territory of the republic; and the tribunes oppose all levies of troops. The senate agree to the law relating to intermarriages, without being able to pacify the tribunes. The fathers were greatly perplexed; either they must suffer the consular dignity to be degraded, or the state to be over-run by the enemy. C. Claudius makes a proposal, which seems to obviate these inconveniencies; it is that the consular authority shall be in the hands of six *military tribunes*, chosen partly out of the nobility, and partly out of the plebeians. This opinion was followed, because it checked the people, by excluding them from the consular dignity, to which they had aspired.

Military  
tribunes.

Election of military tribunes. The people, satisfied with the victory which they had gained over the patricians, refuse to give their votes to plebeians, so that only three military tribunes, and those patricians, were chosen, viz. A. Sempronius, L. Atilius, and T. Clælius, or Cæcilius.



Consuls and military tribunes.	Y. of Rome.	Y. bef. J. C.	Eminent and learned men,	Cotemporary princes.
<p><i>Consuls.</i> T. Quintius Capitolinus Barbatus.</p> <p><i>Military tribunes.</i> T. Quintius Pennus Cincinnatus. M. Manlius Vulso Capitolinus. L. Purius Medullinus. A Sempronius Atratinus.</p> <p>Agrippa Menenius Lanatus. Sp. Nautius Rutilus. P. Lucretius Tricipitinus. C. Servilius Axilla. M. Papirius Mugillanus. C. Servilius Axilla. Lucius Sergius. Q. Servilius Priscus. P. Lucretius Tricipitinus. L. Servilius Structus. Agrippa Menenius Lanatus. Sp. Veturius Crassus. A. Sempronius Atratinus. M. Papirius Mugillanus. Q. Fabius Vibulanus. Sp. Nautius Rutilus. P. Cornelius Cossus. Quintius Cincinnatus. C. Valerius Pennus Volusus. Fabius Vibulanus. Q. Fabius Vibulanus. Cn. Cornelius Cossus. P. Posthumius Albus. L. Valerius Potitus.</p> <p><i>Consuls.</i> M. Cornelius Cossus. L. Furius Medullinus. Q. Fabius Ambustus. Caius Furius Pacilus.</p> <p>M. Pa-</p>	<p>332</p> <p>333</p> <p>334</p> <p>335</p> <p>336</p> <p>337</p> <p>338</p> <p>339</p> <p>340</p> <p>341</p>	<p>422</p> <p>421</p> <p>420</p> <p>419</p> <p>418</p> <p>417</p> <p>416</p> <p>415</p> <p>414</p> <p>413</p>	<p>and even those of private people, with such severity :</p> <p><i>Eupolis, atque Cratinus, Aristophanesque poëtae,</i> <i>Atque alii, quorum comædia prisca virorum est,</i> <i>Si quis erat dignus describi, quod malus, aut fur,</i> <i>Quod machus foret, aut ficiarius, aut aliqui Famofus, multa cum libertate notabat.</i> But in his art of poetry he grants that this great liberty degenerated into licentiousness, and that it became necessary at length to reform the stage, and to prevent it from doing harm . <i>. . . . . Sed in vitium liberta excidit, et vim</i> <i>Dignam lege regi. Lex est accepta, chorusque</i> <i>Turpiter obtulit, sublato jure nocendi.</i> Euripides, born at Salamis, died in the ninety third olympiad, at the age of about seventy five. He ranks among those poets that carried tragedy to its highest degree of perfection. Though he was only eighteen years of age, when he began to apply himself to the drama, yet he did not obtain his first prize for tragedy till he was forty three, as is mentioned in the</p>	<p>“ in the Hebrew alphabet. This is “ what gave rise to “ the vulgar opinion, “ that all the books “ of the old testament, having been “ lost, he dictated “ them anew by the “ help of his memory. “ It is believed that “ in making this revision, he changed “ some names of “ places, putting new “ ones then in use, “ instead of the old “ ones ; and that by “ the inspiration of “ the Holy Ghost, he “ added some things “ which happened “ since the death “ of their authors. “ St. Jerome says “ he invented new “ characters, which “ are the square ones “ now used by the “ Jews, and that he “ left the old ones, “ which are not near “ so handsome, to the “ Samaritans. Gene- “ brand adds, that “ with the advice of “ the elders of the “ council, called San- “ hedrin, he divided “ the sacred scripture “ into verses ; for “ they were penned “ originally without “ any such distinction, “ but all in a continued series. He “ instituted at Jerusalem the order of “ scribes, that is, interpreters of the “ law, who were to “ expound the difficult “ cult</p>

309.

Consulate  
restored.

These new magistrates having abdicated at the end of three months, under pretence that there had been some defect in the manner of taking the auguries at the time of the election, the people, of their own accord, restored the consular government to its former state. In consequence hereof none but patricians were permitted to aspire to the consulate; and at the comitia by centuries, two consuls were chosen, one named L. Papirius, the other L. Sempronius.

The Ardeates, who had revolted on account of the judgment given against them, lay down their arms, and renew their alliance with the republic.

310.

Creation of  
the censor-  
ship.

Creation of the *censorship* (2). This event was occasioned by the eleventh census; the consuls observing, that seventeen years had elapsed without taking a review of the people, in consequence of foreign wars and domestic broils, resolved to disburden themselves of this care, by laying it upon two magistrates, who were to continue in office for five years, and at the expiration of that term, to take a list of the people. Though this new office seemed of small importance, yet the patricians reserved it to themselves; doubtless foreseeing the pitch of power and grandeur to which it would in time arrive. The first censors were L. Papirius and L. Sempronius, consuls of the preceding year. From that time they were exact in making the census every five years; but I shall take no notice hereafter of any but those which have been particularly described by historians.

The consul Geganius undertakes to quell a civil war that had broke out among the Ardeates: he defeats the Volsci, who were come to assist the plebeians of Ardea, then in arms against the nobility; and after he had obliged them to surrender, he made them pass under the yoke. Half naked and unarmed, they were under a necessity of halting on the territory of the Tusculans, who, to revenge themselves for the injuries they had formerly received of those people, were so cruel as to cut most of them in pieces.

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(2) Servius Tullius, the 6th king, was the first who introduced the survey of the Roman citizens, called *census* from *cenſeo*, to rate and value, and took upon himself the trouble to manage it. After the regifuge, this business devolved upon the consuls; but for the reason above given, proper officers were at length created to discharge that office. In process of time, their power having greatly increased, a law was passed (*Æmilia*) in 419 to limit the continuance of their authority to a year and a half. Their station was reckoned more honourable than the consulship, though of inferior authority in matters of government. Their office originally was only to take a survey of the people; but, by degrees, they began to assume to themselves the reformation of manners, for which they were stiled *magistri morum*. Their power, in this respect, extended to all ranks and orders; they might expel the senators the house, *ſenatu ejicere*; or take away the knights horses, *equum adimere*; or remove the plebeians to a less honourable tribe, *tribu movere*; or disqualify them from voting in public, in *Cæritum tabulas referre*, which is to put them on the same foot with the Cærites, the inhabitants of Cære, a town in Etruria, who had no votes; or condemn them in a fine to be paid to the treasury, *ærarium facere*.

311.



<i>Consuls and military tribunes.</i>	<i>Y. of Rome.</i>	<i>Y. bef. J. C.</i>	<i>Eminent and learned men.</i>	<i>Cotemporary princes.</i>
<i>Consuls,</i> M. Papirius Mugillanus.	342	412	Oxford marbles, in the 59th epocha. It is even observed, that out of seventy five, or according to others, ninety two tragedies of his composing, only five obtained the prize at the olympic games. This might proceed in part from his having made himself a great many enemies, as well as by his satirical strokes against the women, as by his haughty behaviour to several poets, his cotemporaries, and to many of his fellow citizens. It is even reported that the people of Athens having desired him one day to strike a certain passage out of one of his plays, he appeared upon the stage, and said, with a loud voice: <i>I do not write my works to receive instructions from you, but to give you instructions.</i> Hated by the women, ridiculed by the comic poets, and tormented by a jealousy conceived at Sophocles's success, he left Athens, and retired to king Archejaus, who had a great esteem for this poet, and raised him to an important office. At the news of his death, which happened at this prince's court, Athens was sensible of the loss which Greece sustained, and the whole city went into mourning. There are still	“cult passages of the Holy Scriptures, to keep them in their custody, and to prevent their being corrupted. Some attribute the Chronicles to him. There are two books in the Bible that go by his name, but the second seems to have been written after his death, which happened about the tenth year of Darius, surnamed the <i>bastard</i> , who succeeded Artaxerxes. At the end of twelve years, Nehemiah went back to the latter's court; and during his absence, the Jews swerved from that piety in which he had left them, and violated the law in many articles of consequence. At his return, he punished them, and reformed the abuses.” Joiada, son of Eliahshib, is elected the fourth high priest since the deliverance in 412. Jonathan, or John, son and successor of Joiada, was made high priest the year before Christ 376
C. Nautius Rutilus. M. Emilius Mamercinus.	343	411		
C. Valerius Potitus Volusus. Cn. Cornelius Cossus. L. Furius Medullinus.	344	410		
<i>2<sup>d</sup>. Military tribunes.</i> C. Julius Iulus. P. Cornelius Cossus. C. Servilius Ahala.	345	409		
C. Valerius Potitus Volusus. L. Furius Medullinus. Numerius Fabius. C. Servilius Ahala. P. Cornelius Rutilus Cossus.	346	408		
L. Valerius Potitus. Cn. Cornelius Cossus. Fabius Ambustus. C. Julius Iulus. M. Emilius Mamercinus.	347	407		
T. Quintius Capitolinus Barbatus. L. Furius Medullinus. Q. Quintius Cincinnatus.	348	406		
A. Manlius Vulso Capitolinus. P. Cornelius Maluginensis. Sp. Nautius Rutilus. Cn. Cornelius Cossus. C. Valerius Potitus. Cæso Fabius Ambustus.	349	405		
Marcus Sergius Fidenas. M. Emilius Mamercinus. M. Furius Fusus. App. Claudius Crassus. L. Julius Iulus. M. Quintius Varus. L. Valerius Potitus.	350	404		
C. Ser-			eleven	Nc-

311.

The senate send a colony to repeople Ardea, and under pretence of making a division of lands among the old and new inhabitants, they give private orders, that the territory which the people of Rome had adjudged to themselves, should be distributed among the Ardeates only. This restitution did great honour to the senate, but displeased the tribunes, who cited the triumvirs, that had been appointed to settle the colony: the latter, who were three senators, finding they could not ward off the unjust prosecution of the tribunes, declared themselves citizens of Ardea, and there fixed their residence.

312.

The public games which the senate had vowed, during the last retreat of the people, are solemnized at Rome.

313.

The Romans were this year afflicted with every domestic scourge, with famine, pestilence, seditions, and conspiracies. The famine occasioned a pestilence, and these two together produced seditions. L. Minucius, created *superintendent of provisions*, could not hinder the scarcity of corn; but, by the authority annexed to his office, he quelled the seditions. Several citizens reduced to despair, throw themselves into the Tiber. In this general calamity, a Roman knight, whose name was Mælius, greatly relieved his fellow citizens; being immensely rich, he bought up corn at foreign markets, and ordered it to be distributed gratis, or at a very low price among the meaner people. The great popularity which this action gained him, was his ruin; imagining he might aspire to the sovereign power, he formed a conspiracy with that view.

314.

The conspiracy is discovered by the superintendent of provisions, who was continued in his office, because the scarcity still continued. The case was extraordinary, and they had recourse to an extraordinary man; this was the celebrated Quintius Cincinnatus, who, though stooping with years, was looked upon as a person to whom the republic might have recourse in extreme necessity: hence he is created dictator at the nomination of T. Quintius Capitolinus, his brother, who was then consul the sixth time. The dictator was preparing to perform the duties of his office, when all of a sudden he was eased of this care by Servilius Ahala, his general of the horse. Servilius, having received orders to arrest Mælius, goes up to him in the forum, and acquaints him with the dictator's summons; Mælius grows pale, draws back, and throws himself into the midst of his adherents, of whom he had always a multitude about him; Servilius pursues, and overtakes him, and kills him on the spot. This was a right that every citizen had, viz. to put any man to death without form of trial, who had aspired to the sovereign power, provided they could prove the crime on the person slain. The dictator found no difficulty in proving Mælius guilty:



<i>Military tribunes.</i>	<i>Y. of Rome.</i>	<i>Y. bef. J. C.</i>	<i>Eminent and learned men.</i>	<i>Cotemporary princes.</i>
<i>Military tribunes.</i> C. Servilius Ahala, Q. Sulpitius Camerinus. Q. Servilius Priscus. A. Manlius Vulso. L. Virginii Tricostus, Marcus Sergius. L. Valerius Potitus. L. Julius Iulus. M. Emilius Mamercinus. Cn. Cornelius Coslus. Caeso Fabius Ambustus. M. Furio Camillus. P. Mælius Capitolinus. Publius Mænius. Sp. Furius Medullinus. Lucius Titinius. L. Publius Philo. P. Licinius Calvus. M. Veturius Crassus Cicurinus. Gaius Duilius. Lucius Atilius Longus. Cn. Genucius Aventinensis. Marcus Pomponius. Volero Publilius Philo. L. Valerius Potitus. L. Furius Medullinus. M. Valerius Maximus. Q. Servilius Priscus. Q. Sulpitius Camerinus. M. Furio Camillus. Lucius Julius Iulus. Lucius Sergius Pidenas. A. Posthumius Albinus. Aulus Manlius Vulso. Lucius Furius Medullinus. Publius Corneliſ Ma- luginenſis. P. Licinius Calvus. Lucius Atilius Longus. Publius Mælius Capito- linus. C. Genucius Aventi- nenſis. <div style="text-align:right;">Lucius</div>	 351     352     353     354     355     356     357	 403     402     401     400     399     398     397	<p>elevē of Euripedes's tragedies remaining, intituled the <i>Pheissia</i>, Orestes, Medea, Alceſtis, Andromache, the Suppliants, Iphigenia in Aulis, Iphigenia of Tauri, Rhesus, the Troades, the Baccæ, the Cyclops, the Heraclidæ, Helena, Ion, Hercules furens, Electra, Hecuba, Hippolytus.</p> <p>Heraclitus, a philosopher, born at Ephesus, lived in the eighty fifth olympiad.</p> <p>The obscurity, for which his works were remarkable, was the cause of his being stiled the dark philosopher. Yet it is known he believed that every thing sprung from fire, and was resolved into fire, and that chance alone presided over human events. Heraclitus was called also the weeping philosopher, because, instead of laughing at the follies of mankind, like his cotemporary Democritus, he wept over them, at the least with as much reason.</p> <p>Herodotus, a native of the city of Halicanassus in Caria, flourished in the hundredth olympiad.</p> <p>So early as Cicero's time, Herodotus was reckoned the father of history; but, even then, it was perceived, that he had intermixed a great many fabulous accounts in his writings. Cicero says as much</p>	Nephirites, or Nephireus, 388 Achoris, 376 Psammuthis 375 Nephirites II. 375 Neftanebis I. 363 Tachos, 362 Neftanebis II. <i>Persian empire.</i> Artaxerxes Longimanus, 424 Xerxes II. 424 Sogdianus, 424 Darius Ochus, or Nothus, 405 Artaxerxes Mnemon, 360 Artaxerxes Ochus. <i>Kings of Macedonia.</i> Perdiccas II. 413 Archelaus, 399 Amyntas II. 398 Pausanias, 397 Amyntas III.reigns till the year 392 Argeus seizes on the throne, and reigns till 390 Amyntas III. restored, dies in 371 Alexander II. 366 Perdiccas III. 360 Philip. <i>Kings of Sparta.</i> These were properly magistrates, and not monarchs. The very idea of monarchy is irreconcilable with that of a state governed by two colleges both invested with equal power. Now such was the Lacedæmonian state, and the cause of it was this. Sparta or Lacedæmon, had originally but one king, but in the reign of Tifamenes, the Heraclidæ or descendants of Hercules, having returned

guilty: the people were comforted for the loss of their benefactor, by the great quantity of corn found in his house, which was distributed among them at a low rate; and a statue was erected to Minucius.

Three of the tribunes, who had been concerned in Mælius's conspiracy, desiring now to be revenged of the patricians, caused the military tribunate to be restored, in hopes that they themselves should be chosen. But they were mistaken, the people chose only three patricians.

## 315.

The Fidenates take up arms, and put themselves under the protection of the Veientes, whose king, at that time, was Lars Tolumnius. By this prince's order, they murder the Roman ambassadors, who had been sent to ask the reason of their conduct. The consular government is restored.

## 316.

War with  
the Veientes.

So manifest a violation of the law of nations involved the Veientes in a bloody war.

Notwithstanding that the consul Sergius had gained some advantage over them, yet it was thought proper to appoint a dictator: this was Mamerus Æmilius, who had been military tribune the preceding year. The Veientes being joined by the Fidenates and the Falisci (a) come to an engagement with the dictator, and are defeated. Tolumnius, their chief, was killed in battle by a Roman officer, named A. Cornelius Cossus, who stripped him of his armour and robes, and made a trophy of them. This was the second time that the Romans obtained the *spolia opima*; for so we must call these, according to Varro, though Cossus that carried them, was only a private officer. The glory he acquired by this exploit, eclipsed that of the dictator himself; and he deposited those spoils in the temple of Jupiter Feretrius, near those of Romulus.

## 317.

Minucius, and Servilius Ahala, are cited before the people to answer for the death of the tribune Mælius: Servilius was condemned to banishment by the intrigues of the tribune, a relation of that Mælius who had attempted to invade the sovereignty. Public prayers were ordered in consequence of the plague and the earthquakes felt this year.

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(a) The *Falisci* were the inhabitants of *Falerii*, a town of Tuscany, and one of the twelve lucumonies, situate on the river Tiber, near the conflux of the Nar, a little below *Fescennia*, where the nuptial verses called *Fescennina* were invented. Virgil mentions the *Falisci*, *Æn. lib. 7. Hi Fescenninas acies, æquosque Faliscos*, where he styles them *æquos* according to Servius, because the Romans received from those people some additions to the laws of the twelve tables. *Falerii* is now called *Civita Castellana*.



Consuls and military tribunes.	Y. of Rome.	Y. bef. J. C.	Eminent and learned men.	Cotemporary princes.
<i>Military tribunes.</i> Lucius Titinius. Publius Mænius. Publius Cornelius Cos- sus. P. Cornelius Scipio. M. Valerius Maximus. Cæso Fabius Ambus- tus. Lucius Furius Medulli- nus. Q. Servilius Priscus Fi- denas. Marcus Furius Camil- lus. L. Furius Medullinus. Publius Cornelius. C. Emilius Mamerci- nus. Spurius Posthumius Al- binus. Lucius Valerius Popli- cola.	358	396	much expressly in his first book of laws; in his Orator, he compares Herodotus's style to the smooth clear stream of some deep river. His writings are still remaining; they contain the hist. of the wars of the Persians against the Greeks, from the reign of Cyrus, down to that of Xerxes; as likewise that of most other nations; it is divided into nine books, to which the Greeks as-sembled at the olympic games, gave the name of the nine muses, to shew the great satisfac- tion they had received from hearing them re- cited by their author.	turned to Peloponne- sus, from whence they had been heretofore expelled by Euristheus, Aristodemus, one of those Heraclidæ, seized on the throne of Sparta. He was succeeded by his sons, Eurysthene and Procles, twin bro- thers, who divided the regal power between them, and transmitted it in that manner to their posterity. The kings of the branch of Eurysthene were called <i>Eurysthenidæ</i> or <i>Agidæ</i> ; those of the branch of Procles, were called <i>Pro- clidæ</i> or <i>Euripontidæ</i> .
<i>Consuls.</i> L. Lucretius Flavius. Servius Sulpitius Ca- merinus. Lucius Valerius Poti- tus. Marcus Manlius Capi- tolinus.	359	395	<i>Hippocrates</i> , born in the isle of Coos, one of the Cyclads, in the eightieth olympiad, died very old.	<i>Kings of the branch of Eurysthenes.</i> Elisioa- nax, or Pli- stonax, go- vern from the year before Chr. 469 to the year 427 Agis, 400 Agésilas, 359 Archida- mus the Second.
<i>Military tribunes.</i> L. Lucretius Flavius. Servius Sulpitius Ca- merinus. Marcus Emilius Ma- mercinus. L. Fufius. Agrippa Furius Fufus. Caius Emilius. Quintus Fabius Am- bustus. Cæso Fabius Ambu- stus. C. Fabius Ambustus. Quintus Sulpitius Lon- gus. Quintus Servilius Prif- cus Fidenas. Servilius CorneliuMa- luginensis.	360 361 362 363	394 393 392 391	He has always held the same rank among physicians, as Homer among poets, Demof- thenes among orators, and Herodotus among historians. Though in his time they had not yet acquired all the necessary knowledge in regard to the animal œconomy, yet his a- phorisms and prognos- tics are to this very day, so many oracles; because his principles, derived from observa- tion and experience, were as clear, and as solid, as those founded on the most learned theory. The science of physic was, in some measure,	<i>Kings of the branch of the Pro- clidæ.</i> Archi- damus go- vern from the year before Chr. 469 to the year 427 Agis, 400 Agésilas, 359 Archida- mus the Second.  <i>Athens continues to be governed by perpetual archons.</i> <i>Kings of Pontus</i> Of the first kings of this country, but very little is known. All that has been handed for certain is, that Ar- tibates

318.

The pestilence rages with greater fury; and the Veientes and the Falisci take the field again. Q. Servilius Priscus, being appointed dictator; gains a complete victory over them, and falling upon Fidenæ, makes himself master of that city. We do not find that so glorious a victory procured the dictator a triumph; as Fidenæ was a Roman colony, probably they looked upon this as a civil war, which never gave room for a triumph.

319.

A rumour being spread, that all Etruria was going to arm in defence of the Veientes, Marcus Æmilius is created dictator a second time. This rumour proving groundless, Æmilius resolved to lay down the dictatorship; but before he did it, he proposed a law for shortening the duration of the censorial office. These magistrates had assumed to themselves very considerable prerogatives, the inspection of the manners and good order of the people; the power of punishing the citizens, knights, and even senators with degradation; the maintaining of the public edifices; and the administration of the revenue. Æmilius, thinking it would be of service to the state to diminish the duration of a magistracy now grown so important, proposed a law for reducing it to eighteen months; *and to the end, said he, that the public may be convinced how great an enemy I am to magistracies of long continuance, I resign my dictatorship this very day.* He resigned it accordingly, and retired to his house, exposed to the hatred of the censors, who went so far, as to degrade this great man, reducing him to the condition of those who were reckoned citizens, merely by the taxes which they paid to the republic.

The tribunes of the people, by dint of clamour, prevail to have military tribunes elected, who were three patricians.

320.

The year of their administration was remarkable for another pestilence, which made great havock both in town and country. The republic vows a temple to Apollo, god of physic. The plebeians had no hand in the nomination of military tribunes for the following year.

321.

This induced the tribunes of the people to propose a law against the canvassing of patricians for public employments. They were forbid to go about in garments of extraordinary whiteness, which occasioned their being called *candidates*; but this prohibition was not long observed. The senate apprehending, that in consequence of these disturbances, the people would nominate plebeians to the military tribuneship, took care to have consuls chosen for the next year, under pretence, that the allies of Rome had given notice of the great preparations, which the Æqui and the Volsci were, at this time, making for war.

322.



Military tribunes.	Y. of Rome.	Y. bef. J. C.	Eminent and learned men.	Contemporary princes.	
Camillus is chosen dictator, without consuls or military tribunes.	364	390	measure, hereditary in Hippocrates's family; he was even said to be descended from Æsculapius, by his father Heraclides. But we are better informed of what relates to his posterity: his sons, Thesalus and Draco, and Polybius, his son-in-law, inherited his knowledge. Hippocrates had formed a number of excellent pupils, whom he sent, on several occasions, to visit the sick, in every town in Greece. The same honours were, out of gratitude, decreed to him, as had been heretofore decreed to Hercules.	tabazes was created king of Pontus by Darius Hystaspis, king of Persia, towards the year 486 before Christ. The names of the four kings that succeeded him, and sat upon the throne till towards the year 400, are lost.	
Lucius Valerius Poplicola.	365	389			
L. Virginus Tricostus.	366	388			
P. Cornelius Cossus.					
Aulus Manlius Capitolinus.					
L. Emilius Mamercinus.					
L. Posthumus Albinus.	367	387			Mithridates I. 363
T. Quintus Cincinnatus.					Ariobarzanes.
Quintus Servilius Priscus Fidenas.					
Lucius Julius Iulus.					
L. Aquilius Corvus.					
Lucius Lucretius Tri- cipitinus.					
S. Sulpitius Rufus.					
L. Papirius Cursor.					
C. Sergius Fidenas.					
Lucius Emilius Ma- mercinus.			368	386	
L. Menenius Lanatus.					
L. Valerius Publicola.					
C. Cornelius Cossus.					
Marcus Furius Camil- lus.					
Servius Cornelius Ma- luginensis.					
Q. Servilius Priscus.					
Lucius Quintus Cin- cinnatus.					
L. Horatius Pulvillus.					
Publius Valerius Pub- licola Potitus.					
Aulus Manlius Capi- tolinus.	369	385			
P. Cornelius Cossus.					
Titus Quintius Capito- linus.					
L. Papirius Cursor.					
C. Sergius Fidenas.					
A. Cornelius Cossus.					
M. Furius Camillus.					
S. Sulpitius Rufus.					
Servius Cornelius Ma- luginensis.					
P. Valerius Publicola Potitus, C. Pa-			370	384	

322.

Accordingly, those eternal enemies of the Roman name, were advancing with a formidable army. The danger seemed pressing, upon which a dictator is demanded. It belonged to the consuls to nominate this officer; but as they refused to comply, the senate had recourse to the authority of the tribunes of the people, to oblige them to it. The tribunes ordered the consuls to be carried to jail, if they persisted in their refusal. A. Posthumius Tubertus is named dictator. He defeats the confederates, takes their camp, and orders all the prisoners, except the senators, to be sold.

Several historians have asserted, that Posthumius stained his dictatorship by an act of inhumanity: they pretend that he caused his son to be beheaded for fighting without his order, though he came off victorious. It seems that they have anticipated the story of Manlius Torquatus, and attributed it to Posthumius the dictator; this is the opinion of Livy.

323.

The Æqui obtain a truce for eight years.

324.

This year was productive neither of war abroad, nor of domestic scourges at Rome; and in this only it seems to be remarkable.

325.

Rome, and almost all Italy, are afflicted with an extraordinary drought. The Romans, on this occasion, had recourse to new superstitions, which were suppressed by an edict of the senate, who ordered the ædiles to take care that no foreign worship should be introduced among the Romans.

There were some military operations this year against the Fidenates and the Veientes. Some authors pretend it was on this occasion that Cossius fought the king Tolumnius. As he was consul this year, it adds a greater probability to the name of *spolia opima*, which we find given to those he took from that prince.

326.

A dispute arises between the senate and the people, concerning the war against the Veientes, whether it was to be declared by an order of the people, or by a decree of the senate. The tribunes prevailed to have it declared by order of the people. They likewise prevailed to have military tribunes chosen for the following year; but though there were four nominated, they were all patricians.

327.

The Romans defeated before Veii.

So many chiefs hurt the arms of the republic. The Romans are defeated before Veii, through a misunderstanding among the military tribunes, who commanded the army. It was thought proper to chuse a dictator; but as there were no consuls at that time, and none but consuls had a right to name a dictator, this occasioned great perplexity.

The



<i>Military tribunes.</i>	<i>Y. of Rome.</i>	<i>Y. bef. Y. C.</i>	<i>Eminent and learned men.</i>
L. Papirius Crassus. Titus Quintius Cincinnatus. L. Valerius Publicola. A. Manlius Capitolinus. S. Sulpitius Rufus. L. Lucretius Tricipitinus. L. Emilius Mamercinus.	371	383	at Thebes, in the sixty fifth olympiad, and died in the eighty eighth. Horace, in his ode to Julius Antonius, mentioning Pindar, says, that whoever pretends to imitate him, may be compared to Icarus, and must meet with the same fate, as that rash youth.
M. Trebonius Flavus. Sp. Papirius Crassus. Lucius Papirius Crassus. Servius Cornelius Maluginensis. Q. Servilius Priscus. Servius Sulpitius Prætextatus. L. Emilius Mamercinus.	372	382	<i>Pindarum quisquis studet amulari,</i> <i>Jule, ceratis ope Dædalea</i> <i>Nititur pennis, vitreo daturus nomina ponto.</i>
M. Furius Camillus. A. Posthumius Albinus. Lucius Posthumius Albinus. L. Furius Medullinus. Lucius Lucretius Tricipitinus.	373	381	Of all Pindar's poems, we have only his odes remaining, which he wrote in praise of those who had obtained the prize at the four public games of Greece. His memory was long held in such veneration, that when Alexander the Great demolished the city of Thebes, he ordered the house, in which this poet had lived, to be spared.
M. Fabius Ambustus. L. Valerius Publicola. L. Menenius Lanatus. C. Sergius Fidenas. Sp. Papirius Cursor. Servius Cornelius Maluginensis. Publius Valerius Publicola Potitus. P. Manlius Capitolinus. Aulus Manlius Capitolinus.	374	380	<i>Socrates</i> , a celebrated philosopher of Athens, was born in the seventy seventh olympiad, and died in the ninety fifth.
L. Julius Iulus. Caius Sextilius. Marcus Albinus. Lucius Antistius. Sp. Furius Medullinus. Q. Servilius Priscus. Caius Licinius Calvus. Publius Clælius Siculo. M. Horatius Pulvillus. L. Ge-	375	379	It was not by his singular opinions concerning the origin of things, and the nature of man; nor by his researches in natural philosophy and the mathematics, that Socrates acquired the name of a celebrated philosopher;
	376	378	

The augurs being consulted on the occasion, attributed this right to Cornelius Cossus, one of the military tribunes, who staid in Rome to guard the city. Cossus chose Mamercus Æmilius for dictator, that great man so unjustly degraded. There had been an instance of a dictator taken out of a cottage; and now there was a dictator chosen from among the common people, a condition to which he had been reduced by the injustice of the censors.

The Fidenates join the Veientes, after having massacred the Romans that had been sent among them by way of colony, when their city was taken; and a great number of Hetrurians join them as volunteers. The dictator engaged the enemy under the walls of Fidenæ, where the Romans were terrified at first with a new manner of fighting. In the very heat of the battle, the Fidenates sent out a body of troops with lighted torches in their hands, who threatened to carry fire and sword through the Roman legions. This stratagem, however, had no great effect; the Romans, though frightened at first, soon recovered themselves; and wresting the torches from the enemy, forced their ranks, and put them to flight: the Veientes ran towards the Tiber, where a great number of them were drowned; the Fidenates fled towards their capital, where the Romans entered pell mell with them, and made themselves masters of the city.

Æmilius, at his return to Rome, had the honours of a triumph, and laid down the dictatorship, which he had held only sixteen days.

## 328.

Though the ill success of the preceding year had sufficiently shewn the inconveniency of governing by military tribunes, still the tribunes of the people prevailed so far as to have this government continued the two following years; but no plebeians had any share in it. A truce of twenty years is granted to the Veientes; and that with the Æqui is continued three years longer.

## 329.

The public games, which had been vowed in the preceding war, are celebrated this year. The Romans, on this occasion, distinguished themselves by their hospitality to strangers, who were all received and entertained at free cost. Expedition against the Volsci, who were advancing with an army towards the frontiers of the republic. The senate did not fail to seize this opportunity of electing consuls for the next year.

## 330.

Battle between the Romans and the Volsci.

The consul Sempronius attacked the Volsci: but it proved a drawn battle, because both armies being equally frightened at their loss of men, had quitted their camp in the night. The Romans owed their preservation to the gallant behaviour of a decurio, named Tempanius, who made the horse dismount, in order to support the infantry that were giving way on all sides. To reward his service, he was created tribune of the people, with three other officers of the horse, though absent.

The



<i>Military tribunes.</i>	<i>Y. of Rome.</i>	<i>Y. bef. J. C.</i>	<i>Eminent and learned men.</i>
L. Geganius Macerinus.			<p>sopher; it was by his pure and sound morality which he taught by word and example. He believed, that there was but one only God, and proved it to the Athenians, who charged him with a capital crime for thus abolishing all their false deities, and condemned him to die by poison. Socrates underwent this sentence with constancy, and died a martyr for the most sacred of all truths. So greatly did this heroic death affect the ingenious Erasmus, that every time he read the account of it, he was ready to cry out: <i>holy Socrates, pray for us.</i> We have some letters under his name, published by Leo Allatius.</p> <p><i>Sophocles</i>, a tragic poet, born at Athens in the seventy first olympiad, died in the ninety third.</p> <p>He carried tragedy to the highest perfection. Euripides had good reason to be jealous of Sophocles. The latter surpassed the former greatly in dignity of expression and sublimity of style, as appears by the seven tragedies of his extant, out of a hundred and twenty which he is said to have written. Their titles are, <i>Ajax, Electra, Oedipus Tyrannus, Antigone, Oedipus Coloneus, Trachinæ, Philoctetes.</i> Horace ranks him</p>
L. Emilius Mamercinus.	377	377	
Servius Sulpitius Prætextatus.			
P. Valerius Potitus Publicola.			
L. Quintius Cincinnatus.			
Caius Veturius Crassus.			
C. Quintius Cincinnatus.			
No curule magistrates.	378	376	
No curule magistrates.	379	375	
No curule magistrates.	380	374	
No curule magistrates.	381	373	
L. Furius Medullinus.	382	372	
P. Valerius Potitus Publicola.			
A. Manlius Capitolinus.			
Servius Sulpitius Prætextatus.			
C. Valerius Potitus.			
Servius Cornelius Maluginensis.			
M. Fabius Ambustus.	383	371	
Q. Servilius Priscus.			
M. Cornelius Maluginensis.			
C. Veturius Crassus.			
Q. Quintius Cincinnatus.			
A. Cornelius Cossus.			
Lucius Quintius Capitolinus.	384	370	
Sp. Servilius Structus.			
Servius Cornelius Maluginensis.			
L. Papirius Crassus.			
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L. Veturius Crassus.			
Camillus, and afterwards Manlius, were dictators, without consuls or tribunes.	385	369	
A. Cornelius Cossus.	386	368	
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M. Cornelius Maluginensis.			
P. Va-			

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No curule magistrates.	379	375	
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No curule magistrates.	381	373	
L. Furius Medullinus.	382	372	
P. Valerius Potitus Publicola.			
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Servius Cornelius Maluginensis.			
M. Fabius Ambustus.	383	371	
Q. Servilius Priscus.			
M. Cornelius Maluginensis.			
C. Veturius Crassus.			
Q. Quintius Cincinnatus.			
A. Cornelius Cossus.			
Lucius Quintius Capitolinus.	384	370	
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M. Cornelius Maluginensis.			
P. Va-			H 2 him

The three military tribunes, who by their misconduct were defeated by the Veientes, are cited by the tribunes of the people: and Posthumius, one of their number, is condemned in a fine.

The bad conduct of the consul Sempronius, induces the senate to agree to the nomination of military tribunes.

## 331.

Sempronius is cited to answer for his behaviour, by the tribune Hortensius, who, afterwards, drops the prosecution at the request of Tempanius and his colleagues. Sempronius was greatly beloved by the troops subject to his command. Under such moderate tribunes of the people, there was no more talk of creating military tribunes.

## 332.

The Æqui  
defeated.

Fabius defeats the Æqui, and receives the honours of an ovation. Disputes between the senate and the people in regard to the quaestorship. The consuls having proposed to create two new quaestors for the army, the tribunes obstinately insisted that two out of the four quaestors should be chosen from among the plebeians. The senate refusing, the tribunes oppose holding the comitia, and the state falls into an interregnum.

## 333.

At length they come to a compromise, whereby the tribunes consent that the four quaestors should be indifferently chosen out of the two orders, patricians or plebeians; on condition that the people were permitted to name military tribunes. The four quaestors, and the four military tribunes, were chosen from among the patricians only. The nobility had generally a kind of ascendancy over the people, which defeated all the intrigues of the tribunes. A vestal is arraigned before the *pontifex maximus*, and accused of having violated her vow of chastity. She was acquitted, but the *pontifex maximus* admonished her to behave with greater reserve for the future, and to value herself more for modesty, than for elegance and levity of dress; *absolutam pro collegii sententia, pontifex maximus abstinere jecit, colique sanctè potius quam scitè jussit.* Tit. Liv.

## 334.

Conspiracy  
of slaves.

A conspiracy of slaves stifled in its infancy. They had formed a design to set fire to the different quarters of Rome, and to seize on the capitol during the confusion. Two of the conspirators, who had informed against the rest, were rewarded with their liberty, and a considerable sum of money.

## 335.

Revolt of the Labicani (a), a people of the Latin confederacy: they join

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(a) They were the inhabitants of *Labicum*, or *Lavicum*, which is oftener used in the plural *Labici* and *Lavici*, Sil. lib. 8. *babiles ad aratra Labici*. This town was situated



<i>Consuls and military tribunes.</i>	<i>Y. of Rome.</i>	<i>Y. bef. J. C.</i>	<i>Eminent and learned men.</i>
<i>Military tribunes.</i> P. Valerius Potitus Publicola. M. Geganius Maceri- nus. P. Manlius Capitolinus. <i>Consuls.</i> L. Emilius Mamercius. Lucius Sextius Sexti- nus. L. Genucius Aventi- nensis. Q. Servilius Ahala. C. Sulpitius Præticus. Licinius Stolo. L. Emilius. Cneus Genucius. Q. Servilius Ahala, 2 <sup>o</sup> . L. Genucius Aventi- nensis, 2 <sup>o</sup> . Caius Sulpitius Præti- cus, 2 <sup>o</sup> . Licinius Stolo, 2 <sup>o</sup> . C. Petilius Libo. Marcus Fabius Ambus- tus. M. Popilius Lænas. Cn. Manlius Capitoli- nus Imperiosus. C. Fabius Ambustus. C. Plautius Proculus. C. Marcus Rutilus. Cn. Manlius Capitoli- nus, 2 <sup>o</sup> . M. Fabius Ambustus. 2 <sup>o</sup> . Marcus Popilius Læ- nas, 2 <sup>o</sup> . C. Sulpitius Præticus. 3 <sup>o</sup> . M. Valerius Publicola. Marcus Fabius Am- bustus, 3 <sup>o</sup> . T. Quintius Pennus Capitolinus. C. Sulpitius Præticus. 4 <sup>o</sup> . M. Valerius Publicola. 2 <sup>o</sup> .	     387   388  389 390 391 392  393 394 395 396  397  398 399  400	     367   366  365 364 363 362  361 360 359 358  357  356 355  354	him among those, whom the Roman tra- gedians proposed to themselves as a mo- del; and Boileau ob- serves, that they never came up to him in point of expression. Thucydides, a cele- brated Greek historian, born at Athens in the seventy fourth olym- piad, and died in the ninety second. When he was very young, he assisted at the olympic games, where Herodotus recit- ed his history: and so greatly was he pleased with it, as to shed tears of joy. A taste so de- licate, presaged what the youth would one day attain to. He un- dertook to write the history of the Pelopon- nesian war; but death hindered him from fi- nishing this work: what he wrote of it, is still extant.

join the Æqui, and gain some advantage over the Romans. C. Servilius, the only military tribune that remained in Rome, nominates his father Servilius Priscus to the dictatorship. In eight days the dictator defeats the enemy, makes himself master of their camp, takes Labicum by storm, returns to Rome, and resigns the dictatorship.

336.

The senate send a colony to Labicum, to prevent the intrigues of the tribunes of the people, who were preparing to insist on the distribution of the lands of the Labicani.

337.

Disputes  
about the  
agrarian  
law.

The tribunes finding themselves disappointed on this article, revive the ancient dispute of the agrarian law, in regard to the distribution of conquered lands. Two of that college, Macilius and Metilius, were for having a new and equal division of those lands between the nobility and the plebeians. The senate artfully defeated this scheme, by gaining over six of the tribunes, who opposed their colleague's petition. This advice was given them by Appius Claudius, the younger, son to the decemvir.

338.

The town and territory of Bola (*b*) is taken from the Æqui. Sextius, a tribune of the people, insists that a colony should be sent thither, as had been done in regard to Labicum. The patricians, willing to seize on these new conquered lands, have recourse to the same expedient, as that which succeeded so well with them the preceding year.

339.

P. Posthumius, one of the military tribunes, is killed in a mutiny by his own soldiers. Bola had been retaken by the Æqui; Posthumius recovered it again, but broke his word, by which he had promised the soldiers, to distribute the plunder among them, if they took the town. Some of his men having mutinied on this occasion, he increased the sedition by his severity against the delinquents. The general of a Roman army having a supreme authority, from which there was no appeal, the soldiers had recourse to force, to rescue their companions out of the hands of the executioners; and Posthumius coming down from his tribunal to appease the tumult, the soldiers threw stones at him, and killed him on the spot. In those circumstances, the senate ordained that consuls should be chosen the

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within fifteen miles of Rome, and is now called *la Colonna*. The *via Lavicana* is frequently mentioned in history: according to Antoninus's itinerary, the first place, in this road from Rome, was *ad quintanas*, fifteen miles; the second *ad pietas*, that is, *tabernas*.

(*b*) It was situated on this side of the Anio, not far from Labicum. Virgil mentions it in the singular, *Pometios, castrumque Invi, Bolamque, Coramque*. *Æn.* lib. 6. but Livy generally in the plural, &c. with a *v*, *Polis insequente anno receptis*, lib. 4.

ensuing



ensuing year. This was opposed by the tribunes of the people; and the republic fell into an *interregnum*.

340.

Fabius Vibulanus, being *interrex*, assembles the comitia by centuries, for the choosing of consuls.

They enquire after those soldiers, who had been guilty of murdering their general: a few were condemned to death, who prevented their execution by laying violent hands on themselves.

341.

A plague which raged this year, interrupted the career of the tribunes, who were beginning to revive the disputes about the agrarian law.

342.

The famine which followed the plague, was productive of the same effect.

343.

Scarce had these scourges ceased, when domestic broils, and foreign wars, revived. The *Æqui*, and the *Volsci*, had renewed their incursions on the Roman territory: the consuls would have levied troops; the tribune *Mænius* opposed it; nor did he acquiesce, till news came that the enemy had taken the fort of *Caruentum* (c). The consul having retaken this fort, ordered the booty to be sold, and the money to be put into the public treasury, to punish the soldiers for having refused at first to enlist.

344.

Out of four *quæstors* chosen this year, three were plebeians. This is the first step the people had dared to take towards establishing their power, since they were permitted to aspire to the military tribunate, and the *quæstorship*. It was taken at the instigation of the *Icili*, who, at that time, had three places in the college of tribunes. The dignity had been, in some measure, hereditary in their family, and as often as an *Icilius* had a seat among the tribunes, some of the privileges of the nobility were sure to be invaded. The *Icili* obtained further, that the republic should be governed the following year by military tribunes, expecting, doubtless, to be of the number themselves. But the senate passed a decree, that none of the present tribunes of the people, should be chosen military tribune; at the same time, they took care to engage some very mean plebeians, who seemed, however, to have the whole patrician interest on their side, to set up for this place. The people were ashamed, and named only three patricians.

345.

The senate apprehending a disunion betwixt these new magistrates, caused a dictator to be created, in order to make head against the

(c) This was the *Arx Caruentana*.

Æqui and the Volsci, who had renewed the war, P. Cornelius is invested with this supreme dignity, and defeats the enemy near the city of Antium.

To prevent the plebeians from obtaining the military tribuneship, the nobility had recourse to an expedient very different from that of the preceding year, but which proved equally successful; this was to make the most illustrious of their own body stand candidates for that employment.

346.

The truce of thirty years with the Veientes was expired, and the Romans were ready to declare war against them; but being informed by the ambassadors of the Veientes, that their city was disturbed by civil broils, they deferred declaring war to another time: so far were they, says Livy, from taking advantage of the distresses of their enemy, to forward their own interests: *tantum abfuit, ut ex incommodo alieno sua occasio peteretur*. But the true reason was, they were willing to wait till the Veientes had weakened themselves by their divisions. The behaviour of the Romans on a thousand other occasions, clearly shews the motive of their present conduct.

The Volsci take Verrugo (d) from the republic, and put such part of the garrison to the sword, as had made the most vigorous defence.

347.

The death of those brave men did not remain unpunished. The military tribunes ravage the territory of the Volsci; Fabius lays siege to Anxur (e), now called Terracina, and taking it by storm, he divides the spoil among his troops.

The Roman  
infantry be-  
gin to re-  
ceive pay.

This liberality was followed by another more generous act, which produced a reconciliation between the nobility and the people. The senate passed a decree, that henceforward, the infantry should be maintained in the field at the public expence. This generosity of the senators was greatly admired; but they had their private views. They wanted to divert the people from petitioning for the distribution of lands; and to enable the troops to keep the field longer than usual. The pay was to come out of the people's own pockets, and would occasion a new tax. The sagacious tribunes did not fail to make this remark. The senators, to defeat their ill intentions, and to set

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(d) A town of Latium, belonging to the Volsci, situate, according to Cluverius, between *Velitæ* and *Sacripentis*; but Cellarius looks upon its situation as very uncertain.

(e) *Anxur* was the name of this place in the Volscian language; but the Greeks and Latins called it *Terracina*. *Dein flumen Ufens, supra quod Terracina oppidum, lingua Volscorum Anxur dictum*. Plin. lib. 3. c. 5. It is sometimes called *Terracinae* in the plural. Horace uses *Anxur* in the neuter, *inpositum saxis late candidibus Anxur*, lib. 1. sat. 5. Martial has it in the masculine, *five salutiferis candidus Anxur aquis*, lib. 5. epig. 1. Here was a temple of Jupiter *Anxurus*, or *Anxurus*, i. e. *Imberbis*, a name by which young Jupiter was worshipped in Campania.

an

347. Liv. lib. 4. p. 276.

Before this time Roman  
soldiers had no pay. —



an example, began with taxing themselves, in proportion to their estates; and some of them, out of ostentation, caused their contingents, which filled several carts, to be carried through the city. For the Romans had no silver money as yet; it was all in pieces of brass, of course very weighty, and cumbersome.

The great designs of the senate, appeared in their declaring war against the Veientes.

348.

These people not chusing to run the hazard of a battle, shut themselves up within the walls of their capital. The Romans then began this famous siege, which historians have compared to that of Troy, for its length and difficulty.

There is room to imagine that the importance of this enterprize occasioned the naming of six military tribunes, instead of four, which had been the usual number.

349.

The siege of Veii went on but slowly, because the Romans had been obliged to detach part of the forces against the Volsci. They obtained two victories over the latter, and took one of their towns, named Artena (*f*). The citadel would have held out a long time, had it not been for the treachery of a slave, who betrayed it to the Romans; and it was razed together with the town.

350.

Livy reckons eight military tribunes this year, but the capitoline fasti shew that he mistook the two censors, who were chosen this year, for military tribunes.

The Roman army met with a check before Veii; the besieged having made a sally in the night, set fire to the military machines, and slew a great number of the Romans. The tribunes rejoiced at this news, imagining they had found a good opportunity to repeal the law for paying the troops, which deprived them of the means of opposing the levies. But suddenly there appeared a strong instance of Roman generosity, the chief support of the republic in difficult times. The richer plebeians offered to mount themselves at their own expence, and to serve before Veii; the lower people at the same time offered to enlist in the infantry. The senate accept of the proposal, appoint magistrates to thank the people, and ordain that henceforward the cavalry shall also receive pay (*g*). Since the reign of Ser-

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(*f*) There were two towns of this name, as Livy observes, one belonging to the Veientes, and situate between Caere and Veii, was destroyed by the kings of Rome: the other belonging to the country of the Volsci, is the town above meant; there were no remains of it even in Livy's time, so that the exact situation thereof is not known.

(*g*) It does not appear what pay was given at this time to the troops; but during the second Carthaginian war, we find that each foot soldier was allowed two *ælii* a day, that is, sevenpence three farthings Eng. a centurion double that money, and an horseman treble.

vius Tullius, the horses belonging to the Roman cavalry were maintained by the public, but the horsemen or knights had always served at their own expence.

In consequence of these regulations, the army was enabled to keep the field all the winter for the first time. Hitherto their expeditions were but of a short duration; as the soldiers served at their own expence, they were obliged to return quickly to Rome, in order to resume their respective callings, by which they subsisted. The generals change the siege of Veii into a blockade, with a view to reduce this city by famine.

351.

The town of Anxur is retaken by the Volsci, and the garrison cut in pieces. The Romans meet with a second defeat before Veii. The Capenates (*b*) and Falisci, nations of Hetruria, having made a sudden attack upon the lines commanded by M. Sergius, one of the military tribunes; Virginus, who covered the siege, neglected to succour his colleague, against whom he had a personal enmity. The Veientes at the same time made a sally, and forced the lines. Other military tribunes are named before the usual time; their authority did not expire till the third of December; but these were obliged to resign the first of October.

352.

The tribes, not being able to agree in the election of the ten tribunes of the people, the eight who had been chosen, appointed themselves colleagues, contrary to the Trebonian law.

Sergius and Virginus are condemned in a fine, by an assembly of the people.

The great levies the state was obliged to make, in order to resume the siege of Veii, occasioned new disturbances. The tribunes of the people oppose the laying of taxes, and again propose the agrarian law. All this bustle ends in raising a plebeian to the dignity of military tribune; his name was Licinius Calvus. The tribunes of the people were so greatly pleased to see a plebeian in this high and wished for station; that they easily dropped their other pretensions. The Romans now lay siege to Anxur.

353.

This city is retaken. The siege of Veii offers nothing remarkable, but the constancy of the Roman soldiers in bearing the inclemency of the weather this winter campaign. The cold was so intense, that the like had never been seen in the memory of man.

(*b*) Capena was a town of Hetruria, between Veii and the Tiber, situate on the banks of that river, and famous for the grove and temple of Feronia; the temple was plundered by Hannibal, Liv. lib. 26. cap. 11. Virgil takes notice of this grove; *et Cimini cum monte lacum, lucosque Capenos.*



The two orders were equally pleased with the conduct of the plebeian military tribune. The people, encouraged by this success, nominate five military tribunes, of their own body, for the following year.

354.

The Capenates and the Falisci march a second time to the relief of the Veientes; but are repulsed with considerable loss.

The nobility were desirous of recovering into their own hands the first dignity of the state, which they were grieved to see possessed by plebeians. Superstition opportunely came to their assistance. A violent contagion having made great havock both of man and beast, they gave out that this scourge, and the excessive cold of the preceding year, were a just punishment of the gods for the injustice done to the nobility. The multitude, in all probability, believed this report; since they named none but patricians to the military tribuneship.

One thing worthy of notice, is the kind of expiation which the duumvirs, entrusted with the care of the Sibylline books, prescribed on account of the contagious distemper. They ordered magnificent repasts to be served up for eight days together, and a certain number of gods to be invited to the feast. This ceremony was called *lectisternium* (a), because it was the custom of the Romans to lie down on couches at their repasts. This is the first festival of the kind mentioned in history, and was celebrated with extraordinary rejoicings. During eight days, there was nothing but feasting, every one kept open house, law-suits were suspended, and prisoners were set at liberty. The joy and content which such a ceremony must naturally have inspired, might greatly contribute to put an end to the contagion: fear and inquietude being one of the principal causes of the spreading of infectious distempers.

The ceremony of *lectisternium*.

355.

The Roman generals ravage the territory of the Falisci and the Capenates, who had attempted a second time to succour Veii.

The senate send deputies to Delphi (b), to consult the oracle of Pythian

(a) The *lectisternium*, or the ceremony of *strewning a bed*, rather took its name from the custom the Romans had of taking down the statues of the gods from their bases or pedestals, and laying them on couches in their temples, with pillows under their heads, in which posture they entertained them with elegant repasts, as if they had been to partake of them. For this purpose, they made three magnificent couches, on which they laid the statues of Jupiter and Apollo, with those of Latona, Hercules, Neptune, and Mercury, in order to appease those deities. Juno and Minerva were always seated, this being the most decent posture for their sex. Livy mentions the original of the *lectisternia*, lib. 5. c. 16. See also Cicero in *orat. de Harusp. resp.* and Valerius Maximus, lib. 2. c. 1. & 10. Casaubon thinks that this ceremony obtained not only among the Romans, but likewise among the Greeks. And Spon, in his voyage to Greece, gives us a description of the *lectisternium* of Isis and Serapis, which is still to be seen at Athens.

(b) *Delphi*, otherwise *Pytho* or *Pythia*, a town of Phocis, on mount Parnassus, famous

Pythian Apollo, in regard to an extraordinary and sudden swell of the lake of Alba, which happened in a dry summer.

256.

The lake  
Alba drain-  
ed.

The deputies brought back for answer, that the conquest of Veii depended on draining the lake, and particular care should be taken not to convey the waters to the sea. As this answer was found agreeable to that of a Veientan, who called himself a diviner, and who had been brought to Rome by some Roman soldiers, the senate immediately sent out pioneers to make that fine canal which subsists to this very day; and the water of the lake Albano, which runs along Castel Gandolfo, passes through it. The oracle had said something, which was interpreted to the disadvantage of the present military tribune; upon which they all abdicated, and an interregnum ensued. The Tarquinieneses, having made incursions on the Roman territory, were repulsed with loss.

The tribunes of the people so far prevailed, that none but plebeians were chosen to the military tribuneship.

357.

Camillus  
dictator.

Veii taken.

Their administration was unfortunate. Atinius and Genucius fell into an ambuscade, laid by a body of Etrurian volunteers, and were beaten; and Genucius was killed in the action. Fame generally magnifies objects; the Romans looked upon their affairs as desperate, and immediately had recourse to a dictator. This was Camillus, already famous for military glory, and for having been twice tribune. One may judge of the grandeur and power of Veii, by the difficulty which the Romans found in subduing it. Camillus, though so great a captain, despairing to carry it by assault, caused a passage to be dug under ground, from his camp to the very castle: after which he ordered a general attack to amuse the enemy, and while they spread themselves upon the walls, the besiegers appeared all of a sudden in the middle of the town. The number of the assailants was prodigious; for the senate, having made a decree by which all the citizens of Rome were permitted to repair to the camp, and to share in the plunder of Veii, this had brought an immense multitude together, and the spoils, as well as perils, were equally divided between them and Camillus's troops. Out of the immense booty, which was found in that opulent city, only a tenth part was reserved to discharge a vow of the general, who had promised to send it to the temple of Pythian Apollo.

The magnificence of the dictator's triumph, was proportioned to the importance of his conquest: but he stained the lustre of it by an

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famous for the oracle of the temple of Apollo. The origin of this oracle is mentioned by Diodorus, lib. 16. cap. 26. The town is now a heap of ruins, upon which stands a small village, called Castri, at the foot of mount Parnassus, between Salona and Livadia.



act of vanity, which gave great offence, he caused his chariot to be drawn by four milk white horses, an honour which the Romans allowed only to Jupiter and the sun.

358.

A peace is granted to the Volsci and the Æqui, in order to give the people time to recover themselves, after the fatigue of the siege of Veii.

The ravages committed on the territory of the Capenates, oblige them to sue for peace. The war against the Falisci is continued. The senate want to send a colony of three thousand Romans to the territory of the Volsci; the people oppose it, and desire to be removed to Veii. Sicinius, a tribune of the people, insisted that half of the senate and the Roman knights, should be transplanted from Rome, and the two cities should form but one republic. This proposal the patricians rejected with indignation; but some time after it was revived with great warmth.

The Roman ladies gave their jewels to make up the money designed as a present to Apollo. They were well rewarded for their generosity by the senate, who granted them, among other favours, that funeral orations should be made for illustrious women, as well as for great men.

359.

Camillus being appointed to carry on the war against the Falisci, Falerii be-  
defeats them, and takes their camp before Falerii their capital city, sieged.  
to which he lays siege. This great man had promised to lengthen  
out this siege, in order to keep a mutinous populace employed; but  
a sudden event broke his measures. Camillus subdued Falerii by his  
generosity, as he had done Veii by his valour. A schoolmaster of  
the town, who had the care of the education of youth, came and  
delivered up the children of the best families in the place to the  
Roman general. Camillus was struck with horror, *though we have* Generosity  
*arms, says he, yet know, we never make use of them against that tender* of Camillus.  
*age, which is spared even in the sacking of towns.* Immediately having  
caused the matter to be stripped, and his hands to be tied, he ordered  
the youths to whip him back again into the city, which no doubt but  
they did with all their hearts, says M. Rollin.

The Falisci, won by this generous act of Camillus, offer to surrender themselves to the republic; and a treaty of alliance is concluded with them. Posthumus obtains a very considerable advantage over the Æqui.

Sicinius, tribune of the people, and author of the law, proposed for removing part of the people, and of the senate to Veii, had been continued this year, and was rechosen for the year following. The senate, in revenge, cause the comitia by centuries to be convened for the electing of consuls. There had been none these fifteen years.

360.

360.

A. Virginius, and Q. Pomponius, who had been tribunes of the people the year before, are condemned in a fine, for having opposed Sicinius's law. The people, excited by Sicinius, were extravagantly fond of this law. The tribes are assembled to decide it; but the constancy of Camillus, and the intreaties of the other senators, prevail over the intrigues of those turbulent men; and the law is rejected. A happy decision for the republic, which would have been greatly weakened by such a division.

361.

Evocation of  
the tutelary  
gods.

The *great games*, vowed by Camillus during the war of Veii, are celebrated by the consuls. At the same time, Camillus himself dedicated the temple, he had promised to Juno, the patroness of Veii, and whose statue he had removed to Rome. It is said, that at the taking of Veii, one of those who were commissioned to carry off this statue, asked it whether it was willing to go to Rome, and that the answer was, it consented. The Pagans believed that the tutelary gods of a town retired from thence, when it was going to be taken by an enemy. Diodorus of Sicily relates, that when the Tyrians were besieged by Alexander the Great, they imagined that Apollo wanted to leave them, and to go over to that prince's camp; upon which, they fastened his statue with a gold chain to the altar of Hercules, in order to hinder the god from running away. In consequence of the same persuasion, the Romans had a custom of inviting out the guardian deities of a besieged town; and part of the ceremonies observed in this sort of evocations, are described at large by Macrobius (*d*).

Some of the Etrurian nations, alarmed at the conquest of Veii and Falerii, declare against Rome; but were conquered the next year. The consuls are seized with a contagious distemper, which at that time made great havock, and they resign their employments. After a short interregnum, it is agreed to elect military tribunes, that Rome might not remain without magistrates, if some of them were infected with the disease.

By a census taken this year, it appeared, that there were a hundred and fifty two thousand, five hundred and eighty three citizens, able to bear arms.

362.

Camillus  
banishes  
himself.

Rome stood more in need than ever of her forces: she was upon the point of encountering enemies far more formidable than those she had hitherto engaged. But unfortunately, at this very juncture she lost the great Camillus, who, single, was worth a whole army. This illustrious Roman was obliged to yield to the hatred which the people had conceived against him, for his steadiness in opposing the

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(*d*) Saturnal. lib. 3. cap. 9.



plebeian factions, and in maintaining the military discipline : being cited by the tribunes of the people, he goes, of his own accord, into banishment : and he is condemned, upon not appearing, under the pretence that he had converted some of the spoils of Veii to his own use. This sort of condemnation of the most illustrious citizens, so frequent at Rome, resembled the Athenian ostracism (e). Both were owing to an apprehension that citizens of distinguished merit should invade the public liberty. Scarce was Camillus departed, when ambassadors from the Gauls arrived at Rome, to demand satisfaction for an injury done them by the Romans.

The Celtæ (f), a Gallic nation, had settled themselves in Italy, Irruption of the Gauls. in the reign of Tarquinius Priscus. They had opened themselves a passage through the Alps, made four different irruptions, and had founded Milan, Brescia, Como, with several other cities. And now lately they had made a fifth, under the command of their king Brennus ; and at the instigation of an inhabitant of Clusium (g), named (h) Arunx, who would fain be revenged for an injury done him by one of his fellow citizens, they came and laid siege to this city. The Clusini applied for succours to the Romans ; but the three brothers, of the Fabian family, who were sent as ambassadors to the Gauls, being offended at the haughty answer of their leader, and at the pride of those barbarians, put themselves at the head of the Clusini. Cause of the war with the Gauls. Such was the breach of the law of nations, for which the Gallic ambassadors demanded satisfaction. The senate referred this affair to the people, who, far from punishing the Fabii, elected them all

(e) Ostracism was a law of the Athenians, in virtue of which, they condemned those, whose authority or influence gave them umbrage, to a ten years banishment, without confiscating their estates. It was called ostracism, because the manner of voting was by writing on shells the name of the person they intended to banish, who was condemned by a plurality of votes.

(f) The most ancient Greek authors bestow this name indifferently on the Gauls and Germans ; those who have examined more nicely into the subject, give it only to the natives of Gaul ; others include the Spaniards ; thinking, with some appearance of reason, that the Celtæ had made an alliance with the Iberians, and that from thence came the name of Celtiberians. This is the opinion of Lucan, l. 4. Pharsal.

———*Profugique à gente actasta  
Gallorum Celtæ nascentes nomen Iberis.*

However, the name properly belongs only to the Gauls. In Cæsar's time, the Celtæ were in possession of all that country which extends from the Rhine as far as the ocean, between mount Vogesus, the rivers Marne and Seine, on one side ; the Rhone, the mountains of the Cevennes, and the Garonne, on the other side. After Cæsar's time, this country was called *Gallia Celtica* or *Lugdunensis*.

(g) Clusium was a city of Etruria, situated near the *Palus Clusina*, now *Cbiana Palude*. Polybius says, it was three days journey from Rome, κλίσιον ἀπέχει ἡμερῶν τριῶν ἐκ τῆς Ῥώμης, lib. 2. c. 25. This town is now called *Cbiusi*, and is washed by the little river *Cbiana*, anciently *Clanis*, of which *Silius* makes mention, lib 8.

*Et Clanis, et Rubico, et Senonum de nomine Senæ.*

(h) Arunx had been guardian to a young Lucumo, who, as soon as he was of age, fell in love with his guardian's wife, and conveyed her away.

three



three military tribunes for the following year, to insult, as it were, the Gauls. This bravado cost the Romans very dear.

363.

The battle  
of Allia,  
between  
Brennus and  
the Romans.

Brennus advances, meets the Roman army near the river Allia (*b*), and obtains a complete victory. It was a general slaughter; the number, the size, and the armour of those foreigners, struck such a panic into the Romans, that they threw down their arms at the first onset, and betook themselves to flight. Brennus, amazed at his victory, marched slowly to Rome for fear of an ambuscade. He arrived the fourth day, and found the city without inhabitants; the youth had retired to the capitol, and the rest of the people to the neighbouring cities. Brennus saw only a few old men in the forum, who had devoted themselves to death, rather than fly from their country. The magnificence of their dress shewed them to be persons of distinction: some wore their pontifical habits, others their consular robes, others their triumphal ornaments, and they were all seated in curule chairs. This solemnity drew the attention of the barbarians, and began to inspire them with respect, when a soldier had the curiosity to touch the beard of one of those venerable sages, whose name was Papirius; the haughty Roman punished his boldness, by striking him on the head with his ivory staff. Immediately Papirius was killed, and with him the other old men; the city was likewise plundered and reduced to ashes.

Rome burnt  
by the  
Gauls.

The Gauls are repulsed with loss in an attack against the capitol: they change the siege of this citadel into a blockade; while one half of their army make incursions into the country, to pillage the inhabitants, and to raise contributions.

It is said, that when Camillus banished himself from Rome, he turned his eyes towards the capitol, and addressed his prayer to the gods, *that if he was innocent, they would soon reduce the Romans to repent the loss of him*; and his prayers were heard. A considerable party of the Gauls had plundered the neighbourhood of Ardea, the capital of the Rutuli, where Camillus resided. He seized this opportunity, and marching out of Ardea at the head of the youth of that city, he surprized the Gauls in their sleep, and cut them in pieces. How different this revenge from that of Coriolanus in the like case! The Romans were more sensible than ever of the merit of Camillus, and of the loss they had sustained in depriving themselves of so great a man. The senate convene the curiæ in the capitol; the act of condemnation against Camillus is repealed; and he is created dictator the second time.

Camillus  
nominated  
dictator.

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(*b*) The learned seem to differ greatly about this river. But Livy has described it very exactly in these words; *Gallis velut tumultuario exercitu raptim ducto, ægre ad undecimum lapidem occursum est, qua flumen Allia, Crustuminiis montibus præalto defluens alveo, baud multum infra viam Tiberino amni miscetur*: from whence Holstenius concludes the Allia to be that rivulet, which runs into the Tiber between the farm of S. Columba and S. John, a little beyond Marcigliano.



While he was assembling the scattered remains of the battle of Allia, the Gauls perceived that a very steep rock, which led to the capitol, was unguarded; upon which they climbed up in the night, and had already reached the wall, when the geese, that were kept there in honour of Juno, occasioned an alarm by their cackling, and the beating of their wings. M. Manlius, a consular, awaked at this noise, and immediately repulsed the enemy. His chief reward was the surname of Capitolineus. The geese had likewise their recompence: a golden image of a goose was erected in memory of them, a kind of procession was instituted to their honour; and a flock of these birds was ever after maintained at the public expence, by the name of the *sacred geese*. No sooner had the Romans escaped this danger, but they were pressed by another. Provisions were become so scarce, that they began to think of capitulating. The tribune Sulpitius had agreed with the Gauls to pay them a sum of money, for which they were to raise the siege. During this transaction, Camillus comes up, breaks off the ignominious treaty, gives battle to the enemy among the ruins of Rome, and puts them to flight; after which he overtakes them in the Gabinian way, within eight miles of Rome, and gives them a total overthrow.

364.

The senate continue Camillus in the office of dictator, that he might have time to oppose the factions of the tribunes, who were for abandoning Rome, and going to live at Veii. But he prevailed on the people to stay and rebuild the city. Private persons were allowed to take materials wherever they could find them. In less than a twelvemonth Rome rose out of its ashes; and Camillus was looked upon as its second founder. The continuation of his dictatorship was the cause that only subaltern officers were appointed this year. Before the holding of the comitia, he abdicated; and the next year military tribunes were chosen.

365.

If we may believe Festus, the poverty and want that were felt in Rome as soon as it was rebuilt, obliged the inhabitants to have recourse to a barbarous expedient. This was to throw over a bridge into the Tiber, all the old men that had passed their sixtieth year; from whence, he says, comes the expression *de pontani senes* (i), which became proverbial. But this is not at all probable.

One of the tribunes of the people having cited Q. Fabius to answer for his conduct in violating the law of nations, by putting himself at the head of the Clusini, at the time when he was sent ambassador to

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(i) The name of *de pontani* was likewise given to those who were denied the privilege of voting in the *Campus Martius*: the prerogative century, or that which was first to give their voices, being separated from the rest of the people, came into an inclosed apartment, to which they gave the name of *septa* or *ovilia*, passing over the *pontes* or narrow boards, laid there for the occasion; so that *ponte dejici* is to be excluded from voting.

the Gauls; his trial was prevented by sudden death, which happened so seasonably, that it was thought to have been voluntary.

War with  
the Æqui,  
the Volsci,  
and the  
Hetrurians.

They are  
defeated by  
Camillus.

The Æqui, the Volsci, and the Hetrurians, enter into an alliance against the republic; and even the Latins and the Hernici (*k*), the ancient allies of Rome, suffer themselves to be dragged into this general confederacy of the neighbouring nations. In this emergency, the Romans had none but Camillus in whom they could confide; he is created dictator a third time, and soon subdues the several enemies of the republic. Camillus was arrived to so high a pitch of glory after this expedition, that some authors think he had three successive triumphs decreed him; but it is more probable that he had but one this time, which was his third. A great sum of money was raised from the sale of the captives, which enabled the republic to pay the Roman ladies for the jewels they had formerly contributed to make a present to Apollo. Three vases of gold, with Camillus's name inscribed on them, are consecrated in the temple of Juno.

366.

The capitol  
repaired.

The military tribunes ravage the territory of the Æqui, to put it out of their power to revolt any more. Two cities in the lucumony of the Tarquinienses are taken and demolished. The capitol is repaired, and strengthened with new works.

They resign before the time of holding the comitia, because some religious ceremony had been omitted at the time of their election: upon which an interregnum ensued.

367.

Dedication of the temple of the god Mars, which had been vowed during the war with the Gauls.

Four new tribes were added in favour of those among the Veientes, the Capenates, and the Palisci, who, during the last war, had joined with the Romans. These made in all twenty five tribes.

368.

Camillus  
chosen mili-  
tary tribune.

Defeats the  
confederates.

Camillus was this year chosen one of the military tribunes. It had been customary to make him dictator, when the republic was in danger; and now his colleagues transferred the whole power of that office into his hands, without giving him the title. The Volsci, the Latins, the Hernici, and the Antiates, are defeated in a pitched battle. The Volsci shut themselves up in Satricum (*l*), which is taken by storm. Camillus afterwards recovers some towns from them, which they had lately wrested from the republic.

(*k*) A people of new Latium, eastward, between the Æqui, Volsci, and Marsi; their chief town was *Anagnia*, now *Anagni*.

(*l*) A town of Latium, of which no vestiges are remaining. Its various revolutions are mentioned by Livy, lib. 2. c. 39. lib. 6. c. 33, and lib. 7. c. 27.



369.

Disturbances raised by Manlius Capitolinus. This factious patri- Domestic  
cian had saved his country from ruin, with a view of attaining the disturbances.  
sovereignty over it. But he did not disclose his ambitious designs, till  
Camillus's fourth tribuneship was expired; for he was afraid of that  
great man as a true patriot, and he hated him as his rival. He enters  
into the faction of the tribunes of the people, touching the distribu-  
tion of lands, and takes all needy debtors under his protection. As  
intelligence came at the same time that the Volsci had taken up arms,  
and were supported by the Latins and the Hernici; A. Cornelius The Volsci  
Cossus was named dictator. The Volsci are defeated, the dictator defeated,  
returns to Rome, and orders Manlius to be sent to prison. The senate  
set him at liberty soon after, because of the anger of the populace,  
who went into mourning, as in times of public calamity. But this  
was only giving a leader to the seditious populace.

370.

The conspiracy becomes public. Even the tribunes of the people,  
alarmed at the danger which threatened the state, summon Manlius,  
and impeach him before the comitia. The people being assembled  
several times, put off pronouncing sentence; for the sight of the  
capitol, which he had saved, was a strong plea in his favour. This  
Camillus perceived, and, by the authority which he held as military  
tribune for the fifth time, he removes the place of the comitia; upon  
which Manlius is condemned to death, and thrown headlong from the Manlius  
capitol. Every kind of glory attended Camillus; after he had been condemned  
the deliverer and restorer of Rome, he was likewise the preserver of and thrown  
her liberty. The memory of Manlius was further persecuted by a headlong  
prohibition that none of his family should ever bear the prænomen of from the  
Marcus, and that no patrician should dwell on the capitol, where his  
house stood.

371.

Most of the Roman colonies revolt. A pestilence, with which The Roman  
Rome had been afflicted ever since the last year, hindered the war colonies  
from being renewed. This scourge was considered by Manlius's revolt.  
friends, as a punishment from heaven against the authors of his  
death.

Commissioners appointed to make a division of the Pomptin terri-  
tory (m) among the people, and to lead a colony to Nepet (n).

372.

The troops of the republic are sent against Velitræ, a Roman colony,  
which had revolted; and the Prænestini march to their assistance.

(m) This is the *Pomptinus Campus*, which Strabo, lib. 5. calls τὸ Πυμπήνιον πεδῖον. It took its name from Suefla Pometia, a considerable town of the Volsci.

(n) Some writers call it also Nepe, others Nepete, and Ptolemy Νέπεα; from thence *ager Nepesinus*, and *colonia Nepensis*. It is now called *Nepi*, and is situated near the river *Pozzolo* between Rome and Viterbo.

The battle of Velitræ. The Romans obtain a victory: and the battle being fought in the neighbourhood of Velitræ, the vanquished are obliged to shelter themselves within the walls of that city.

373.

The Volsci defeated.

Camillus is chosen military tribune the sixth time, in consequence of the new preparations of the Volsci, who, being joined by the Prænestini, had taken Satricum, where they committed great cruelties. Camillus, though advanced in years, had still as much prudence and courage as ever. He defeats the Volsci, after these people had obtained a small advantage over Fufius, his colleague, who engaged against his advice. Among the captives were found some of the inhabitants of Tusculum; upon which, Camillus marched against that city, and subdued it by his very presence. The Tusculans appear before him without arms, and make their submission to the senate; who grant them the privileges of Roman citizens.

374.

Domestic disturbances

The battle of Allia.

Disturbances at Rome in consequence of the suit carried on by creditors against debtors; most of the plebeians having been rendered insolvent by the expences they incurred in rebuilding their houses. The Prænestini make incursions to the very gates of Rome; and yet the tribunes would suffer no levies. T. Quintius is named dictator. The battle of Allia (*n*), where the enemy was beaten, and their camp taken. This victory was followed by the surrender of Præneste, and of eight strong holds within its jurisdiction. The dictator triumphs at Rome, and resigns in twenty days. The statue of *Jupiter Imperator*, which he had brought with him from Præneste, was placed in the capitol, as an eternal monument of his glory.

The centuries chose three plebeians, among the military tribunes, for the following year.

375.

The Roman camps taken and plundered by the Volsci.

The two Manlii, who had been chosen to command the army, in preference to the plebeian tribunes, march against the joint forces of the Latins and the Volsci, and fall into an ambuscade. The two Roman camps are taken and plundered. This misfortune was followed by a revolt of the whole body of the Latins.

The three military tribunes, chosen from among the plebeians, suspend the domestic broils.

376.

This year was less quiet than the last; and the centuries had chosen six patrician military tribunes. The senate are obliged to make a decree, that no body shall be molested, either for debt, or for the payment of the usual taxes, during the campaign against the Volsci, who were again up in arms. The Romans ravaged the enemy's country, not being able to bring them to an engagement.

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(*n*) See note (*k*), p. 26.



377.

The Latins join the Volsci. The confederates are defeated; and the terror spreads as far as Antium, a city of the Volsci, which surrenders to the Romans. The Latins, incensed at this desertion, fall upon Satricum, another town of the Volsci, and burn it to the ground: from thence they march to Tusculum, which they surprize; but are shut up in that city by the Roman army, and every man of them is put to the sword.

The Latins  
and Volsci  
defeated.

M. Fabius Ambustus lays the foundation of a new revolution; which caused the suppression of the military tribunate, and at length gained the plebeians admittance to the consular dignity. The jealousy which one of Fabius's daughters, married to a plebeian, had conceived against her eldest sister, married to a patrician, was the original of so unexpected a change, at a time when the people, loaded with debts, were oppressed more than ever by the nobility. Fabius, who was fond of his daughter, undertook to make her equal to her eldest sister, and he compassed his aim. It seemed, says father Catrou, as if it was to be the fate of Rome, that the great revolutions of that city should always be owing to women.

New dis-  
turbances.

Fabius, to obtain his ends, procures the military tribuneship for his son-in-law, Licinius Stolo, and for another plebeian, named L. Sextius, a man in the flower of life, and who in merit was not inferior to Licinius. Immediately they proposed three new laws; one concerning debts, was, that the interest, already paid, should go towards discharging so much of the principal, and the remainder be paid off at three equal payments; the second, relating to lands, forbid any Roman citizen to possess more than five hundred acres; the third, regarding the consulate, ordained that the military tribunate should be abolished, and that two consuls should be annually chosen, and one of them be always a plebeian.

The patricians alarmed at this project, which tended to reduce their estates, and to abridge their privileges, have recourse to their ordinary expedient; which was to divide the tribunes of the people. Eight of the latter oppose the new laws, only by making use of the single word, *veto*, *I forbid*; but it was as easy to one party as to another to pronounce this word, and accordingly Licinius and Sextius made use of it in their turn. The time for the comitia being come, they opposed the election of military tribunes; a single *veto* suspended every resolution, and the republic fell into a kind of anarchy.

378. 379. 380. 381.

The patricians, for these four years, had no share in the government, Licinius and Sextius, who were always continued in the tribuneship, hindered the creation of any curule magistrates, none but plebeian officers being elected, that is, tribunes of the people and ædiles. Livy and Vopiscus mention an interregnum during these four years; but the matter seems very uncertain, even according to their own account.

382.

War with  
the Veliter-  
ni.

Licinius and Sextius consent to the nomination of military tribunes, in order to pursue the war with the Veliterni, who had laid siege to Tusculum. The enemy withdrew to their capital, where they were besieged in their turn. But as the siege of Velitræ could not be finished this campaign, military tribunes were chosen for the following year.

383.

M. Fabius Ambustus, that great friend of the plebeians, was one of the number. During his tribuneship, Licinius and Sextius dared to propose a fourth law, that decemviri should be chosen instead of duumviri, to preserve and interpret the Sibylline books, and one half of these decemviri should be plebeians. The most intelligent part of the people were extremely sensible of the great advantage, which accrued to the patricians from this privilege of interpreting the books of the Sibylls, as they always interpreted them in their own favour. However, nothing was determined as yet, and the siege of Velitræ advanced but slowly.

384.

The commons chuse other tribunes in the room of those, who had been against the new laws, proposed by Licinius and Sextius.

It is probable that the troops were returned from the siege of Velitræ, since new military tribunes were not appointed.

385.

Camillus is created dictator the fourth time: such were the last resources of the republic, the dictatorship and Camillus. No other advantage however was reaped from hence at present, except the dictator's ordering that the comitia, in which the laws of Sextius and Licinius were to be proposed, should be deferred to another time. Camillus laid down his office, from what motive historians differ. P. Manlius is appointed to succeed him, who chuses for his general of the horse, C. Licinius Stolo, a relation of the tribune of the same name. The occasion was favourable, the tribunes made use of it, and got the law passed, which related to the *division* of lands.

386.

This year the military tribuneship was revived for the last time.

Sextius and Licinius, who were always continued in office, obtain the passing of the two laws, in regard to debts, and to the creation of decemviri (o) for taking care of the Sibylline books. There remained only the law concerning the consulate, of most importance to the tribunes; but this was put off till the republic could be delivered from a new army of Gauls, who had advanced to the banks of the Anio. Camillus, though almost fourscore years old, was named dictator, in

Camillus  
defeats the  
Gauls on the  
banks of the  
Anio.

(o) This number continued till about the time of Sylla, when we meet with the *Quindecimviri*,

order



order to fight them : a glory which was really his due. He defeats the Gauls, and immediately after leads his victorious bands to the conquest of Velitræ. At his return to Rome, finding the minds of the inhabitants in an extraordinary ferment, he makes a vow to erect a temple to Concord, upon restoring the public tranquillity. The law relating to the consulate was passed at length, but with some restriction ; it only mentioned that one of the two consuls might be chosen from among the people, whereas the tribunes insisted that one of the two should be always a plebeian.

387.

Sextius gathered the first fruit of the opposition which the tribunes of the people had so long maintained against the patricians ; he was elected consul together with L. Emilius. The senate refuse to confirm his election ; upon which, new disputes arise between the two orders. Camillus, who had not as yet resigned the dictatorship, hits upon an expedient, which reconciles both parties. He proposes to separate the prætorian function from the consulate, so as to make them two distinct offices, on condition that the prætors should be always chosen from amongst the nobility.

Establishment of the prætorship (p). It seems that the name of prætor had been sometimes given to consuls ; at least in an ancient law quoted by Livy, we find the expression *prætor maximus*, to signify the person invested with the first dignity in the state. The prætorship, as we see, was a branch cut off from the consulate. The prætor had the civil authority in his hands, was intrusted with maintaining and executing the laws, in short, with the administration of justice. He was also possessed of a military power ; but in this he was subordinate to the consul, from whom he received orders, when they happened to be both in the same army. Spurius Furius, the son of Camillus, was the first invested with this dignity. A place is marked out for the temple of Concord, which Camillus had vowed. The senate decree the great games in thanksgiving for the restoration of the public tranquillity. The ædiles refuse to administer on this occasion.

Establishment of the prætorship.

The great games.

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(p) The prætor's name is derived *a præcundo*, signifying to go before, for which reason most of the old Latin commanders were stiled *prætores*. At first, only one was created ; but in the year of the city, 511, another was added ; and then one of them administered justice among the citizens, with the title of *prætor urbanus* ; while the other determined causes relating to foreigners, and was called *peregrinus*. Upon the conquest of Sicily and Sardinia in 520, two more prætors were added, to assist the consuls in the government of the provinces, and two more upon the intire reduction of Spain in 551. Sylla increased the number to eight, and Julius Cæsar to sixteen. When these magistrates were thus increased, the *prætor urbanus* took cognizance of civil causes, and the other of criminal ; hence the latter had also the name of *quæstor*. There were likewise provincial prætors, who were intrusted with the civil and military command in the Roman provinces ; but their office was annual.



Establishment of the *ædiles curules*.

Establishment of the *ædiles curules*. Upon the refusal of the plebeian *ædiles*, the young patricians offered to execute the orders of the senate, relating to the great games. The senate readily embraced this opportunity of creating a new employment for those of their own body. Curule officers were such as had a right to be carried in an ivory chair (*q*), and to sit upon it in public assemblies. These officers were the consul, the censor, the dictator, the prætor, and the curule *ædile*. Cn. Quintius Capitolinus, and P. Cornelius Scipio, were the first invested with this authority; but it soon became common to both orders, as well as the prætorship. It is observable, that by the exercise of curule officers, the plebeians acquired the rank of nobility both for themselves and their descendants.

388.

Death of Camillus.

A sudden and unaccountable pestilence sweeps away great numbers at Rome. The most fatal stroke was the death of Camillus, which, notwithstanding his great age, was an infinite loss to the republic.

389.

Scenic shows.

As the plague still continued, several methods were used to appease the gods: first a *lectisternium* was ordered; afterwards the Romans instituted to their honour the *scenic shows* (*r*), so called because they were represented on a scene, that is, on a stage, whereas the great games were celebrated in the circus. The scenic shows were at that time a kind of comedies, intermixed with dances. But this did not remove the plague.

(*q*) *Sella curulis*; the name is commonly derived *à curru*, because they sat upon it as they rode in their chariots.

(*r*) The *ludi scenici*, so called from their being exhibited on a scene, that is, on a stage built in a shade, were divided into four species, satire, mimus, tragedy, and comedy. The first scenic performers were Etrurians, in whose language *hifler* signified a player, and hence the Latin word *histrion*. These *histriones* danced to the flute, but their dances were not accompanied with words. The Romans afterwards mimicked these dances, and intermixed jokes and raillery with them. This being agreeable to the people, some were tempted to compose verses for the stage; but the first speakers gave into the vicious taste of the *Fescennini*, a people of Etruria, who, upon occasion of merriment, used to treat one another with a rustic kind of raillery. These (Fescennines) were succeeded by satires written in verse, set to the flute, and repeated with gestures. The word *satire* is derived from *satira*, full, which is supposed to relate to *laxx*, a *platter*; this kind of poem abounding with various matter. Livius Andronicus, about the year 514, turned the satires into regular plays, and then the farces were laid aside for some time; but were afterwards revived by the Roman youth, who acted them for their diversion, at the end of their serious pieces. These farces were free from obscenity, and were called *Atellanæ* from *Atella*, a town of the Oscans in Campania, where they were first invented and they had also the name of *exodia*, or interludes. The profession of an actor was honourable among the Greeks; but it was otherwise in Rome, where a professed player could not belong to any tribe, or bear any civil or military office; though, if he excelled in his art, and behaved with proper conduct, he was sure of being treated with respect, as appears from the history of Roscius.

390.



390.

They were obliged to have recourse to another expedient of a more extravagant nature, but consecrated in the minds of the people by inveterate superstition. L. Manlius Imperiosus was named dictator, to drive a nail (r) into the wall of the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus. The Romans had borrowed from the Volturnenses (s) in Etruria, the custom of reckoning their years by nails, which the consuls drove into this temple: and it is to be presumed, says father Catrou, that when a particular year had been remarkable for public calamities, they superstitiously believed, that the augurs who had consecrated the consuls, were unlucky; for which reason a dictator was named, to the end that by happier omens he might correct those of the consuls. The first thing he had to do, was to resume the function of driving the nail, called *clavus annalis*.

391.

The surname of *Imperiosus*, given to Manlius, perfectly suited his character: during his dictatorship, he had exercised great cruelties over the citizens, whom he wanted to enlist, under pretence of an expedition against the Hernici: but at length he was obliged to resign. M. Pomponius, tribune of the people, summons him before the comitia; yet he escapes this danger, by the courage and filial piety of his son, T. Manlius, whom he had long confined to the country, because of an impediment in his speech. This youth, hearing the danger his father was in, went privately to the tribune, and holding a poniard to his throat, obliged him to swear he would drop the prosecution. This action, though irregular in itself, was commended for its motive; young Manlius was created legationary tribune by the people, who began now to confer this military dignity, which had hitherto been the gift of consuls. There were six tribunes in every legion (t), which  
made

(r) This the Romans called *clavum pangere*; the annual ceremony of driving the nail was performed on the ides of September, when Livy says, that the *prætor maximus* drove it into the right side of the temple of Jupiter, near where the temple of Minerva stood; and by reason that *rare per ea tempora litera erant*, it served to mark the number of years; the law for preserving this custom was written in the temple of Minerva, because numbers were invented by that goddess.

(s) The Volturnenses were the inhabitants of *Volturni*, a city of Etruria, now known by the name of *Bolsena*, and situate near the *Volturnensis lacus*, which Livy, lib. 27. mentions to have flown with blood. Juvenal, sat. 3. describes the situation of this city, ——— *pestis nemorosa inter juga Volturnis*. The Volturnenses used to drive their nail in the temple of Nortia, an Etrurian Goddess.

(t) The word *legion* is derived from *legere*, to choose, because they were composed of chosen men. A legion comprehended a certain number of horse and foot, and was divided into ten cohorts; in every cohort there were three *manipuli*, or bands of soldiers, and in every band two centuries, or *ordines*. The *turma*, or troop of horse, were divided, each into three centuries, so that there were sixty centuries, and thirty decuries in every legion. The infantry was commanded by six tribunes, with sixty centurions, one to each century. The decuries were commanded by thirty decurions, and by one officer, to whom they gave the name of prefect, and who was at the head of an entire *ala* or wing. In each company of foot they had sometimes four hundred



made in all twenty four ; for they generally raised four legions every year, two for each consul. The people now claimed the privilege of nominating to six of those places.

Curtius  
devotes  
himself.

M. Curtius, a young patrician, throws himself, full armed, into a gulf, which had been formed all on a sudden in the midst of the forum. The augurs being consulted, in regard to this event, made answer that the gulf would not close, till the Romans threw what they had

hundred and twenty, and sometimes six hundred men. In each turma or troop of horse, they had only thirty, viz. ten in each decury ; but in the wing three or four hundred. The legions took the name from the order in which they were raised, a *prima*, *secunda*, *tertia*, &c. the first was superior to all the rest. The number of legions was different in different times ; at first there were only four, which were equally divided between the two consuls ; yet, in cases of necessity, we sometimes meet with no less than sixteen or eighteen, in Livy : in the second Punic war, there were twenty five ; and in the civil war between Cæsar and Pompey, they amounted to forty. The number of foot in a legion, Romulus fixed at three thousand ; the common number afterwards in the times of the republic, was four thousand ; in the second Punic war, it arose to five thousand ; after this they sunk to four thousand or four thousand two hundred, which was the number in Polybius's time. The foreign troops, under which we may comprize the *secii* and the auxiliaries, were not divided, as the citizens, into legions ; but first into two great bodies, termed *alæ* or *cornua*, and those again into companies. From their being disposed in such a manner as to cover the two sides of the Roman legions, they were called *alæ* or *wings* ; and the officer that commanded them, was stiled *præfectus*. The Roman cavalry were always posted at the wings of the army, and fought sometimes on foot, and sometimes on horseback.

The Romans drew up their army, before an engagement, in three lines, distinguished by the names of *hastati*, *principes*, and *triarii*. The *hastati*, who composed the first line, were so called from the spear or javelin, *hasta*, which they bore. The *principes*, who made the second line, were so denominated, according to Varro because in former times they were placed in the foremost line, and began the attack ; or because they were in the strength and vigour of their age. The *triarii* bore the name, because they formed the third line, and were commonly veterans, and the chief strength of the army. The *principes* were armed with swords, and the *triarii* with javelins called *pila*, from whence they likewise took the name of *pilani*. Besides these, the Romans had another sort of infantry stiled *velites*, a *volant* or a *velocitate*, because they were light armed, and consequently fittest for all sorts of nimble exercise. These were generally *tiro*'s, or young fellows, and seem to have hovered in loose order before the army. Every *manipulus* or company in a legion, was allowed two centurions or captains, one to each century. The *triarii*, or *pilani* being esteemed the most honourable, had their centurions elected first ; next to them the *principes* ; and afterwards the *hastati*, whence they were called *primus* & *secundus pilus*, *primus* & *secundus princeps*, *primus* & *secundus hastatus*, and so on. The most honourable of the centurions was the *primipilus* who was the centurion of the right hand order of the first *manipulus* of the *triarii* or *pilani*. He had the care of the eagle or chief standard of the legion. Besides the centurions, every *manipulus* had two *vexillarii*, or ensigns ; and every centurion chose two *optiones* or *succenturiones* for his lieutenants. Over the centurions were the tribunes, of whom there were six in every legion ; their business was to decide all controversies in the army, to give the word to the watch, &c. Next to the tribunes were the *legati*, whose institution at first was not so much to command, as to advise ; but, in process of time, they commanded in chief, under the general, and managed all affairs by his permission ; their number is not certainly known ; but it is probable there was one to every legion. The general's place was between the *triarii* and the *principes*, from whence he commanded the whole army.

most



most valuable into it. Some historians pretend, that the chasm was filled up as soon as Curtius jumped into it; but Livy, a more judicious writer, mentions this as a very dubious affair. It is to be observed, that we meet in history with an event of much the same nature, which happened long before this, in Phrygia (i); a further proof that the Romans endeavoured to embellish their history with events borrowed from other nations.

The consul Genucius, falling into an ambuscade, is killed by the TheRomans Hernici, and his army routed. On the other hand, Appius Claudius defeated by being created dictator, obtains a signal victory over the enemy. Ge- the Hernici, nucus was the first plebeian consul, that had the management of a war: and the patricians took great advantage of his ill success.

## 392.

But notwithstanding their clamours, C. Licinius Stolo was named consul the second time.

The war with the Hernici continues. The *Tiburtes* (u), being assisted by the Gauls, take up arms, and encamp on the banks of the Anio. T. Quintius Pennus is named dictator. A single combat between young T. Manlius, and a Gaul of a gigantic stature, who had Manlius challenged the Romans. The Gauls, discouraged at the death of Torquatus, their champion, abandon their camp, and retire into Campania (x). Manlius and his posterity got the surname of Torquatus, from a collar (*torquis*) which he tore from the dead body of his vanquished enemy.

## 393.

Advantages obtained over the Hernici and the Tiburtes. Servilius The Gauls Ahala, being created dictator, defeats the Gauls, who had advanced defeated.

(i) This story is taken from the treatise of parallels between the Romans and Greeks, falsely attributed to Plutarch. At Celenæ in Phrygia, there happened a terrible earthquake and eruption of water, that swallowed up a great number of people: Midas consulted the oracle, which gave him for answer, *that if he would cast into that gulf the most precious thing he had in the world, the earth would close again*. He threw in a heap of gold and silver; but this proving ineffectual, Anchyrus, the son of Midas, reflecting that the most precious thing in nature is the life and soul of Man, took leave of his father and of his wife Timothea, and mounting his horse, he leaped into the abyss. The earth immediately closed, and Midas raised a golden altar upon the place, and dedicated it to Jupiter Idæus.

(u) The *Tiburtes* were the inhabitants of Tibur, a very ancient town of Latium, situated on the river Anio, now Teverone, sixteen miles from Rome, and, according to Horace, built by the Greeks. *Tibur Argæo positum calono*. Virgil calls it *superbum*, and Martial *altum*, Horace, lib. 1. od. 7. says that none of the Greek cities pleaseth him so much as *Domus Albuncæ resonantis, et præcepti Anio, et Tiburni locus, et uda mobilibus pomaria rivis*. Hence it was then, and is still, a pleasant retirement for the Roman nobility. Its modern name is *Tivoli*.

(x) Campania was a province of Italy, extending from the Liris to the promontory of Minerva, called still *capo di Minerva*, bounded on the north east by Samnium, and on the south west by the country of the Hirpini. It was accounted the most fruitful and pleasant country in Italy, and is now called *Terra di lavoro*,

into the neighbourhood of Rome, and blocked up the gate *Collina (y)*. After their defeat they retire to Tibur.

394.

The Tiburtes draw near to Rome, but are repulsed with loss.

395.

The Hernici subdued, The Hernici are subdued by the consul Plautius; but Fabius, his colleague, is not so successful against the Tarquinienfes. The Gauls making new incursions, the Romans are obliged to take the field again, and to name a dictator; this was Sulpitius Peticus; with the assistance of the Latins, who were now reconciled to the Romans, he puts the Gauls to flight.

Two new tribes are added to the former number, which made twenty seven in all.

Law against openly canvassing for votes, practised by the *novi homines*, or *upstarts*, who took a good deal of pains to obtain the consulship.

396.

The interest of money, which had been a long time arbitrary, was settled at one per cent. Licinius Stolo is condemned in a fine for a breach of the law, which he himself had made, forbidding any citizen to possess more than six acres of land.

Expedition against the Falisci and the Privernates (z); Privernum surrenders upon articles.

The tribunes of the people check an attempt of the consul Cn. Manlius, upon the constitution. He had assembled his troops by tribes, and made a law in the camp a thing unprecedented, and of very dangerous consequence; because there was no law, how pernicious soever, but a consul might get passed, under the influence of the absolute power, with which he was vested in the army. The tribunes forbid, upon pain of death, any magistrate to assemble the comitia out of Rome.

397.

War with the Falisci and the Tarquinienfes.

War with the Falisci and the Tarquinienfes. When both armies came in presence of each other, these people bethought themselves of a new stratagem; their priests advanced towards the Roman entrenchments with lighted torches in one hand, and with fillets of different colours, in imitation of serpents, in the other. This ridi-

(y) So called from the hills *Quirinalis* and *Viminalis*, which joined in this place. It went also by the name of *Salaria*, from the salt, which the Sabines used to bring in this way; of *Quirinalis* from the chapel of Romulus; of *Agonalis* from the ludi Agonenses which were represented here; and of *Salutaris* from the temple of Health in this neighbourhood.

(z) *Privernum* was a town of the Volscians, near the river Amasenus, now Baudino, about twelve miles from Terracina. It is mentioned by Virgil, *Æn.* 11. *Priverno, antiqua Metabus quum excederet urbe*; and by Silius, lib. 6. *Priverno, vili Latiae præsignis bonore*: the modern name is *Piperno*.



eulous apparatus, frightened the Romans at first; but they soon made the enemy pay dear for their stratagem. The consul Popilius, who commanded in this expedition, was a plebeian; upon the breaking out of the war with the Hetrurians, it belonged to him to name a dictator, because Fabius, his colleague, was employed against the Tiburtes. Popilius pitches upon another plebeian, whose name was C. Marcius Rutilus. The dictator defeats the Hetrurians on different occasions, kills a great number of them, and takes several thousand prisoners. He triumphs, by virtue of a decree of the people, notwithstanding the opposition of the senate.

398.

The plebeians cease for a time to have a share in the consulate, after they had possessed it twelve years in conjunction with the patricians.

The war with the Tiburtes and Tarquinienfes offers nothing remarkable.

399.

From the testimony of different historians, there is room to conjecture that there was a schism at Rome, and that one part of the people withdrawing from the comitia, chose plebeian consuls; but in the capitoline falli, M. Fabius and T. Quintius, both patricians, are marked as consuls for this year.

Fabius subdues the Tiburtes; and Quintius defeats the Tarquinienfes in a bloody battle, which did not however prove decisive. He put all the prisoners to the sword, by way of reprisal, for the cruelty the Tarquinienfes had committed four years before, on upwards of three hundred Roman soldiers taken in an engagement. He saved however three hundred and fifty eight Tarquinienfes of the principal rank, to send to Rome, where, by order of the senate, they were first beaten with rods, and then beheaded.

The Romans conclude an alliance with the Samnites (a), who had sent an embassy to desire the friendship of the republic.

400.

T. Manlius Torquatus is created dictator, to command an army against the Cærites (b), in revenge for their having joined the Tarqui-

(a) The Samnites were a people of Italy, descended from the Sabines, inhabiting the inland part of Picenum, (which contains the further Abruzzo, and part of the marquisate of Ancona) between the Frentani and the Campani. Their chief towns were Bovianum, Æsernia, Sapinum, Allifæ, Telesia, now Bojano, Isernia, Sepino, Alisi, Telesse.

(b) The Cærites were the inhabitants of Cære, a famous city of Hetruria, of which only the ruins were left in Strabo's time, ἔχρη σάρετι μόνον. Though Cære is generally undeclinable, yet we read in Virgil, *est ingens gelidum lucus prope Cæritis ansem*, Æn. 7. The citizens were called Cærites, the second syllable short, and Cærtes, the second long; as also Cærteni. Near this town were the famous mineral waters called *Aquæ Cæritanæ*. Its ancient name was *Agylla*, as we are informed by Dionysius and Strabo. It is now a small town near the Tuscan sea, known by the name of *Cervetere*. Some think that the word *cærimonia* is derived from this city, where outward forms were much observed.



nienſes in ravaging the territory of Rome. Manlius Torquatus is the firſt Roman that was raiſed to the dictatorship before he had been conſul.

The Cærites have recourſe to the clemency of the Romans ; and are forgiven, in conſideration that the town of Cære had given ſhelter to the veſtals and pontifs, when Rome was taken by the Gauls. A truce is granted them for a hundred years ; and the dictator reſigns his office.

Disturb-  
ances.  
Interreg-  
num.

The diſpute about the conſulate is revived ; and the republic falls into an interregnum, the tribunes of the people oppoſing the comitia by centuries, till the patricians would conſent to the election of a plebeian. At length C. Martius Rutilus, a plebeian, is choſen conſul the ſecond time.

## PARTICULAR REMARKS.

**A**FTER the extinction of the regal dignity, the Romans ſaw nothing above them, except the gods, and the laws : but the laws of Rome being inſufficient, as well in regard to government, as to individuals, there muſt neceſſarily have been a thouſand diſputes and diviſions, before this part of civil polity could be rightly ſettled.

We have already obſerved, that the inſtitution of the patrician dignity, and of the centuries, was extremely advantageous, inasmuch as they tended gradually to deſtroy the exorbitant power of the popular aſſemblies. The expulſion of the kings changed the face of this whole ſyſtem ; that which would have been productive of excellent effects, had the regal dignity ſubſiſted, muſt have been attended with very ill conſequences in a republic. The enormous privileges conferred on the patricians, and the abſolute authority which they derived from the comitia by centuries, formed a real Ariſtocracy, the inconveni- ences of which were quickly felt, when it appeared how neceſſary it was for the people to have magiſtrates out of their own body to defend their liberties. “ The tribunes who were entrusted with this  
“ noble employ, had at firſt, ſays the abbé de Mably, neither the  
“ external marks of magiſtracy, nor even of a tribunal. They ſat  
“ in an humble poſture before the ſenate-house ; neither were  
“ they permitted to come in, till the conſuls called them ; and  
“ then their whole office conſiſted in oppoſing the decrees of that  
“ body, when they thought them prejudicial to the intereſts of the  
“ plebeians. But they ſoon uſurped the privilege of convening the  
“ comitia, and aſſembling them by tribes, in matters wherein the  
“ people were directly concerned, ſuch as the election of magiſtrates,  
“ or the proſecutions carried on againſt them, the appeal authorized  
“ by the Valerian law, and the enacting of general laws. This  
“ ſucceſs of the tribunes changed the whole form of government ; and  
“ when once the people recovered the exerciſe of that ſovereignty,  
“ which they had enjoyed before the creation of centuries, Rome  
“ began to wear the face of a perfect republic.” On this occaſion,

the



the abbé de Mably observes the relations between this new government of Rome, and that which Lycurgus had established at Sparta, as also the advantages from thence resulting. On the one side, two consuls; on the other, two kings, who, under different names, did but exercise the same magistracy; subjects in time of peace, but all powerful at the head of their armies; from whence arose that expedition, which constitutes one of the characteristics of monarchy. In both republics, almost the whole administration was in the hands of the people; hence that zeal, that fire, that enthusiasm, which flow from democracy. At Rome, as well as at Sparta, a senate, and a number of magistrates were entrusted with the several branches of the public authority, of which the body of the people are incapable of making a prudent use; hence that perpetuity of the same spirit, which seems to be the characteristic of aristocracy; hence, in short, that mixt government, whose several branches, tempered by each other, could neither neglect their duty, nor abuse their authority. But the same author observes, that Rome was indebted for these advantages to a lucky combination of circumstances, whereas Sparta owed them to the wisest of the Greek legislators; so that the Romans did not borrow their fundamental laws from Greece.

It was not so in regard to the other institutions. Probably the Romans themselves were sensible that they were not sufficiently polished, for compiling a complete body of laws, since they sent deputies to borrow them of foreign nations. In vain would it be to observe, that the cause of this deputation, was that the plebeians did not chuse to leave the legislative power in the hands of the patricians; this objection will fall of itself, only by attending to facts. By the *Terentian law*, it had been ordained, that ten commissioners should be appointed to compile a body of laws; and these commissioners might be chosen from the order of plebeians, as well as from among the patricians. Besides, their power was limited to proposing; their regulations were not to have the force of law, till they had been laid before the public to be examined, and afterwards approved at an assembly of the people. Therefore the legislative power of the patricians was quite out of the question.

The Romans could not do better, on this occasion, than to have recourse to the Greeks, a nation more learned, and of course wiser and better than themselves; for the effect of the arts and sciences is not only to render mankind more happy, but likewise more virtuous. By enlarging the sphere of our taste and knowledge, they give us new wants, which are so many degrees of happiness when satisfied. Our wants cannot multiply, but the connexions and relations in human society must increase in the same proportion. As mankind become more dependent on each other, the stronger they unite: the more they expect from society, the greater privileges they grant it: and from this mutual intercourse, arise that politeness and humanity, which give birth to every social virtue. The Romans being destitute of the sciences and the arts, and of those virtues which flow from thence, were  
willing



willing at least to have good laws; for which, indeed, they had an urgent necessity. The laws, we must confess, cannot eradicate vice, but they can give a check to it; and in a society, where the generality of the members are not over virtuous, it is going a great way to oblige them to preserve appearances. Notwithstanding that there are but few remains of the Papirian code, or even of the decemviral laws, still it would be an easy matter to prove how greatly the latter surpassed the former. The nature of this work does not permit me to enter upon this parallel; those who have a mind for a disquisition of that kind, may consult the excellent history of Roman Jurisprudence, by M. Teraſſon. I must observe only, that the twelve tables contain many articles, which evidently partake of barbarism, though we may say they were borrowed from the Greeks, or at least, that the same, or nearly the same prevailed among this nation: which ought to be attributed to a certain austerity of manners, inseparable from republican governments, especially in their original state. But the Romans being more rigid, and less polished than the Greeks, improved upon the latter in the several institutions of this kind. Of this, among others, we find a very strong proof in the shocking despotism which fathers had over their children, and creditors over their debtors. Solon had made a prudent reformation at Athens, in regard to both these articles; he ordained, that no person whatever should have a power to sell his children into slavery, except in cases where they rendered themselves deserving of such cruel treatment: he had even repealed the privilege, by which creditors were empowered to confine their debtors in a private goal, and to load them with chains of a considerable weight, which should torture their whole body. The twelve tables not only rejected this reformation, but added something still more shocking against debtors, by ordaining that if a man was found insolvent, his creditors might, after the third market day, cut his body in pieces, and divide it amongst them. Yet have the laws of the twelve tables been extolled by all antiquity; and indeed, in many respects, they were worthy of admiration. May I be permitted to make a few remarks on such articles as appear to me most striking.

The Romans, in digesting a code, to be observed throughout their empire, gained an infinite advantage, that of establishing a body of laws, universal and uniform, like reason and truth which are one, which exercise their authority indiscriminately over all, and which ought to serve as a basis to all laws. The Papirian code was not only faulty in many respects, but, moreover, incomplete; and what was worst of all, it happened that at the time of the expulsion of the kings, the priests, in concert with the patricians, seized on the best part of this code, which did not appear till about a century and a half after the promulgation of the twelve tables. With reason therefore have several authors affirmed, that from the exile of the Tarquins to this promulgation, the Roman magistrates had no other rule for their decisions, than that natural equity by which mankind ought always to be directed. Had the Romans con-

tinued



ained in so wretched a state, their constitution would have been ever wavering, and extremely imperfect; each province, each city, each town of any note, would have endeavoured to preserve its laws and customs: the difference of circumstances, interests, passions, and private views of each magistrate, would have produced a chaos, unintelligible to men of sound sense, favourable to quibble and chicanery, and, in short, more deserving of contempt than respect. The Romans afterwards felt part of these inconveniencies. To produce good effects, there must be some effort, or exertion, in the cause; but abuses spring up of themselves under a thousand different shapes. The prætors and the ædiles having been obliged, when they entered upon their office, to publish an edict, declaring the manner in which they intended to administer justice, during the year of their magistracy, from thence some advantage arose at first; because the magistrates, while they interpreted the laws, frequently made useful amendments in them: but those edicts were afterwards multiplied to such a degree, that their number and variations contributed only to darken and confound the Roman jurisprudence. Rome, under the emperor Adrian, was amazed to see the arbitrary decisions of her magistrates revived, when she thought herself governed by fixt and invariable laws. Care was therefore taken to restore the constitution by the *perpetual edict*, which at the same time that it preserved what was good out of the great multitude of particular edicts, forbade the magistrates to make any more for the future; by which means the laws were restored to that precision and uniformity, from whence they derive their principal force.

In the twelve tables we find two laws, which were as a great blessing to the Romans, as the one and universal code. The first is, that if the parties do not come to an agreement, the judge shall hear the cause from sun-rise till noon. The second ordains, that in the afternoon the magistrate shall decide the cause in favour of that party he thinks in the right, and that all trial and dispute must be over at sunset. Thus, says M. Teraillon in his commentary on this law, *the same cause, how considerable soever, was to be heard and decided in one day*. It does not require much reflexion to see the utility of such laws. It is obvious, that to suffer many years delays, with great trouble, vexation and expence, in going through the several courts of judicature, would have been worse than the law-suit itself; and that it would have been far preferable to lose a cause immediately, than to gain it upon such conditions. Hence the Romans, directed in this respect by the Greeks, carefully avoided, especially in civil matters, all complicate proceedings and numerous delays, which generally turn out to the advantage of the knavish chicaner. True it is, that at first they carried this point too far. They were afterwards obliged to enlarge the time for giving judgment, when things were not ready for a hearing; as likewise to lengthen the time limited for throwing in an appeal: this, at first, was no more than two days; Justinian prolonged it to ten, a very moderate term; which is enough to convince us, that the delays used in causes



by particular magistrates were always very short ; that the Romans were saving of their time in judicial processes ; and that they did not depart from the most simple as well as the most expeditious forms of justice. Hence it is, that in the writings of the Romans, even of those who allowed themselves the greatest liberties, we do not meet with those satyrical strokes against the bench, which, though wittily wrapped up, or couched in ludicrous allusions, do sometimes denote the cries and complaints of a whole nation.

Though we do not find in the fragments of the laws of the twelve tables, any rule that obliged the magistrates to explain the motives on which they supported their decrees, yet there is room to think they contained some regulation on this head. It seems, that the Roman magistrates were possessed of this valuable privilege, if we may judge by the monuments relating to these matters, which still remain. I think there are very strong hints, not to say proofs, of this in the 71st and 74th pieces of the collection inserted by M. Teraſſon, at the end of his history of the Roman jurisprudence. Besides, it is certain that in case of an appeal, the judge of the inferior court was obliged to give a summary of the affair to the appellant, with the reasons of his decree, which the appellant laid before the superior judge. One can hardly imagine any thing more useful than this method of giving, together with the decrees, a particular account of the motives and circumstances by which the magistrates are determined. It ought to be considered as one of the most effectual means to avoid all ambiguity, and even all appearance of variation in law, and consequently to prevent a multitude of suits. The principles being in themselves invariable, there can be no other difference in the decisions, but that arising from different circumstances, which in fact do sometimes make a total change in the nature of affairs. But if the parties at law and the counsel are acquainted with the motive of the decrees, this difference is never productive of any bad effect ; the decrees may vary, but the law continues invariable, like the principles on which it is founded. It must be acknowledged, moreover, that the method of explaining the motives for passing judgment, is the only way to gain the intire confidence of the public, because then there is no reason to apprehend that either solicitation or fraud will ever be able to prevail over equity and justice. It is impossible to conceive that the Romans should not have endeavoured to procure to themselves so great a blessing, by the laws of the twelve tables ; for a people who make their own laws, have infinite advantages over those, who are indebted for them to custom, and to a variety of circumstances. The latter being obliged to take them in their present condition, are under a necessity of endeavouring to improve them singly ; so that they never can arrive at perfection. On the contrary, the former being confined by no particular object, may direct their aim to the utmost sublimity.

Another advantage which no one surely will deny the laws of the twelve tables, is simplicity ; and this ought to be the principal aim of all legislators. To attempt to guard against every possible case,



is confounding every thing, because we must needs fall into complication and disorder; in the matter of laws, small inconveniencies must be overlooked for the sake of great advantages. This admirable simplicity we shall find in the fragments of the decemviral laws; and Cicero, by giving us to understand that they were short, and not numerous, acquaints us at the same time that they were extremely simple: he says that they made but a small book, *libellus*, preferable however to all the libraries of philosophers.

Mentioning the institution of the *feciales*, we took notice, that, according to some authors, one of the privileges of those officers consisted in acting as mediators in disputes arising between individuals. Here we are obliged to observe, that we can neither find in the twelve tables, nor elsewhere, the least vestige of this practice, so that it is to be presumed it never existed: it would have been too beneficial to the Romans ever to drop it. In their customs we meet with something that seems to partake of this method of reconciliation. When one of the parties was disposed to make up matters, he could demand of the other, that the difference should be referred to arbitrators (c); he who  
made

(c) The Romans had three sort of judges, besides the prætor, who allowed or confirmed them, viz. *arbitri, recuperatores, et centumviri litibus judicandis*. The first, styled simply *judices*, were those above described by our author. The second were to decide the controversies about receiving or recovering lost or stolen goods. The third were the usual judges in private causes; three of them were taken out of each tribe, which made them a hundred and five, and at length they were increased to a hundred and eighty. The plaintiff and defendant were called *actor* and *reus*. The *procuratores* were the proctors or solicitors; the *advocati* or *patroni* were the council; and their being retained by one party was called *mandatum*. In their proceedings, the first step was *in jus vocare*, the citing of a person into court. The second was *edere actionem*, which was proposing before the magistrate the action to the defendant. The third was *postulatio actionis*, which was requesting of the prætor, that it might be lawful for the plaintiff to enter his action. On the day of trial, the plaintiff proceeded to prefer the suit; and this was called *intendere actionem, vel litem*. When the *postulatio* was granted, the plaintiff obliged the defendant to give sureties for his appearance, which was termed *vadari reum*; and the defendant *promisit vadimonium*, entered into a bond for his appearance, which was commonly the third day following. The parties always made oath they did not go to law with an intent to abuse one another, and this was the *juramentum calumniæ*. The arguing of the case was *disceptatio causæ*. Sentence was passed by a majority of the judges: the consequence of the sentence was either *in integrum restitutio*, that is, upon petition of the party to allow him another hearing; or *addictio*, that is, to deliver the party cast into his adversary's disposal, till satisfaction was made; or *judicium calumniæ*, which was an action brought for false accusation; or *judicium falsi*, which was an action against the judges for corruption.

Such was the method of proceeding in private causes; public judgments were in regard to actions that tended either mediately, or immediately to the ruin of the state. And here the *quaesitor* made an inquiry into the crime; the accuser entered the name of the offender, which they called *nominis delatio*; the prætor appointed a day for the trial, which was *diem dicere*; the *judex quaestionis* managed the trial; the *judices selecti* gave their verdict like our juries; and their impanelling was called *sortitio judicum*. When the prætor sent them out to consult (*mittebat judices in consilium*) he delivered to each of them three tablets covered with wax, one of absolution, marked A; the second of condemnation, marked C; the third of *ampliatio*, or adjournment



made this demand was obliged to abide by the sentence; on the contrary, the other could appeal, but was condemned in a fine, if it went against him. The laws of the twelve tables, ordain in several cases, that the magistrates shall appoint arbitrators to settle matters between the contending parties. These arbitrators were to begin with giving their advice; then if the obstinacy of the parties obliged them to it, they proceeded to give sentence; and the party who believed himself injured, had a right to appeal. The arbitrators thought their honour concerned in giving such counsels, or passing such judgments, as would be confirmed by the magistrates; and there is no doubt but by this method they had it in their power to stifle an infinite number of suits, which would have otherwise been the ruin of families, by fomenting hatred, anxiety, and division.

It would be hard if the Greeks and Romans were the only people for whom providence designed the possession of such advantages; nations more learned, more polished, more virtuous than they, have undoubtedly a right to those invaluable blessings. And, indeed, we have been pleased to see how eager some philosophical princes, in our times, have been to procure these blessings for their subjects; and still more pleased to see that the rest of Europe has applauded the example.

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jourment of trial, marked N. L. *non liquet*. The jury threw what tablet they pleased into a proper number of urns or boxes, and the tablets being drawn, the prætor pronounced sentence by a majority. But we find that in public causes, judgment was sometimes passed by the whole people. The court days were stiled *dies fasti*, when it was lawful for the prætor to sit in judgment, and to say these three solemn words, *do, dico, addico*, *I sit here to give laws, declare right, adjudge losses*.

The punishments inflicted on offenders by the law, were of eight sorts, *damnum, vincula, verbera, talio, ignominia, exilium, servitus, mors*, a pecuniary mulct, imprisonment, retaliation, public shame, banishment, slavery, death. Banishment, or *exilium*, was not a direct punishment, but by consequence, by forbidding the condemned person the use of water and fire, *aquæ et ignis interdictio*. Under *mors*, or capital punishments, were included *percussio securi, strangulatio, præcipitatio de robore, dejectio à rupe Tarpeia, in crucem ælii*, and *projectio in profluentem*, beheading; strangling, which was performed in prison; throwing the criminal from the part of the prison called the *robur*; or from the Tarpeian rock; crucifixion, performed generally on slaves; and drowning, proper to parricide, which was done by sewing the criminal up in a sack with a serpent, an ape, a dog, and a cock.



## F I F T H C E N T U R Y.

*Year of Rome 401.**Before Christ 353.*

**T**RANQUILLITY being restored, the consuls applied their thoughts towards terminating the disputes about debtors, which about began to excite fresh disturbances: accordingly five commissioners were appointed for that end, who settled matters to the general satisfaction.

A report being spread, that the Hetrurians were all up in arms, Julius Iulus was created dictator; but the report proved false.

402.

The Consuls for this year were both patricians. The Tarquinienses and Falisci submit, and obtain a truce of forty years.

C. Marcius Rutilus, the first plebeian that had ever been raised to the dictatorial dignity, was likewise the first of that order invested with the censorship; an office at that time important, and which grew much more so, because, according to Festus, the censors had then obtained the privilege of creating and degrading senators.

403.

The patricians could not hinder Popilius Lænas, a plebeian, from having share, this year, in the consulate, notwithstanding, that to guard against this blow, they had prevailed upon the consuls to name M. Fabius Ambustus to the dictatorship. The chagrin and jealousy of the patricians, were much increased by a signal victory which Popilius obtained over the Gauls, and where he received an honourable wound. L. Furius Camillus was created dictator, to preside at the election of the consuls, which Popilius was hindered from doing by his wounds, and his colleague Scipio by illness. The dictator procured the two new consuls to be chosen from the patrician order, and he himself was nominated to that office.

404.

Rome was not only obliged to fight against the Gauls, who had renewed their hostilities, but likewise against pirates from Greece, who infested the coasts of Italy; and the sudden desertion of the Latins in so critical a conjuncture, threw the republic into a very great dilemma. By the death of the consul Appius Claudius Crassus, the whole weight of the war fell upon Camillus. M. Valerius, a young man of three and twenty, fights a single combat with a champion of the Gauls, of gigantic stature, who had challenged the bravest of the Romans. The extraordinary interposition of heaven, says Livy, diminished, in some measure, the merit of Valerius's victory; for a raven, perching upon his helmet, and flying in the face of the giant, during the fight, blinded him with his wings, till the young Roman laid him dead on the spot. Hence he had the surname of Corvus, which was transmitted

The Gauls  
defeated.

to his descendants. This victory of Valerius was, in some measure, a presage of that which Camillus obtained over the Gauls, the remains of whom retired to Apulia. Camillus advances towards the sea coast, in order to drive away the pirates, and nominates T. Manlius Torquatus dictator, to preside at the comitia. M. Valerius Corvus, though absent, is chosen consul at an age when he was not even qualified to have a place in the senate.

405.

The Greek pirates retired for want of fresh water, and other provisions to keep the sea.

The Romans had recourse to a *lestisernium*, in order to remove the plague.

Second treaty of alliance between Rome and Carthage.

406.

Interest of  
money re-  
duced.

The complaints of the people obliged the consuls to reduce the interest of money one half, that is, to half per cent. Debtors were likewise allowed the privilege of discharging the principal in four equal payments, from year to year,

407.

Valerius  
Corvus takes  
Satricum.

Valerius Corvus, consul the second time, is before hand with the Volsci and the Antiates, who were preparing to enter the Roman territory : he defeats them, takes *Satricum*, which the confederates had made their place of arms, and sets fire to it, after it had been sacked by his soldiers. Four thousand prisoners of war were sold, and the money, accruing from the sale, was deposited in the public treasury.

408.

The Volsci  
conquered a  
second time.

L. Furius is created dictator to fight the Aurunci. This petty nation, bordering on the Volsci, had dared to enter the lists with Rome ; but the dictator made them fly. The Volsci are conquered a second time. The senate, in consequence of a vow made by the dictator, order a temple to be built on the capitol, and dedicated to *Juno Moneta*, so called from an important warning, which she is said to have given to the Romans. " In process of time, as father Catrou observes, the temple of *Juno Moneta* became a public mint ; and thence the metal, which was stamped for the use of commerce, took the name of *moneta* (c)." 409.

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(c) The Romans reckoned their money by *as*, *asses*, *sestertii* or *nummi*, *denarii*, *solidi* or *aurei*. The most ancient coin was the *as*, first stamped by Servius Tullius, with the image of *pecus*, or small cattle, whence it had the name of *pecunia* ; it had afterwards the impress of a Janus, and on the reverse the *rostrum* of a ship ; in the beginning it was *libralis*, or of a pound weight, and even after it was diminished, it retained the name of *libella*. They had no other money, till the year 484, when silver began to be coined. The *as* was so named *quasi as*, or brass, being of that metal ; it first consisted of 1 lb. weight ; but, at length, it came down to half an ounce ;



CONSULS.	Y. of Rome.	Y. bef. J. C.	Eminent and learned men.	Cotemporary princes.
Publius Valerius Publicola.	401	353	<i>Appius Claudius Centumalus</i> , or <i>Centemmanus</i> , a Roman civilian, flourished towards the year of Rome 449.	<i>Kingdom of Judab.</i> Jaddua, son of Jonathan, is elected the sixth high priest since the deliverance, the year before Christ 344.
Caius Marcius Rutilus. Caius Sulpitius Peticus. 5 <sup>o</sup> .	402	352	This Appius, was the great grandson of Appius Claudius the decemvir. In private life he was famous for applying his time to the interpretation of the laws; and during his censorship, he immortalized his name, by erecting two monuments, one called the <i>via Appia</i> , and the other the fine aqueduct, known by the name of the <i>Claudian water</i> .	This high priest, by God's particular permission, appeared in a dream to Alexander, the great king of Macedonia, to whom he predicted his victories over the Persians. This vision happened in . . . . . 334.
T. Quintius Pennus Cincinnatus. Marcus Popilius Lænas. 3 <sup>o</sup> .	403	351		Alexander, having laid siege to Tyre, applied to Jaddua for a supply of provisions, but Jaddua refused to comply with his request, lest he should violate the treaty which the Jewish people had concluded with Darius, king of Persia. Alexander, irritated at this refusal, advances towards Jerusalem, with a full resolution to destroy this city. But Jaddua having gone out to meet him, together with his priests in their sacerdotal habits, this prince was surprized at seeing the very person who had appeared to him in his dream; and he revered the name of God, engraved on the gold plate which the high priest wore on his breast. Alexander went to Jerusalem in the spirit of peace, offered up sacrifices in the temple, granted new privileges to the Jews, and confirmed those
L. Cornelius Scipio. Lucius Furius Camillus.	404	350		
App. Claudius Crassus. Marcus Popilius Lænas. 4 <sup>o</sup> .	405	349		
M. Valerius Corvus. Caius Plautius Hypsæus.	406	348		
T. Manlius Imperiosus Torquatus. Marcus Valerius Corvus. 3 <sup>o</sup> .	407	347		
Caius Petilius Libo. Marcus Fabius Dorso. Servius Sulpitius Camerinus.	408	346	<i>Aristotle</i> , a famous Greek philosopher, chief of the Peripatetics, born at Stagira in Macedonia, died in the hundred and fourteenth olympiad.	
Caius Martius Rutilus. T. Manlius Imperiosus Torquatus. 2 <sup>o</sup> .	409	345	It is well known that he was preceptor to Alexander the Great, and that his philosophical works, after having been in some measure idolized for several centuries, fell at length into contempt. But sometimes it is useful, and even glorious, to return the way we came. Aristotle's philosophy is read again, and we still find some parts of it worthy of being admired. His rhetorical works have had a never-fading reputation.	
M. Valerius Corvus. A. Cornelius Cossus. Caius Martius Rutilus. 2 <sup>o</sup> .	410	344		
Q. Servilius Ahala. Caius Plautius Hypsæus. 2 <sup>o</sup> .	411	343		
L. Emilius Mamercinus.	412	342		
T. Manlius Imperiosus Torquatus. 3 <sup>o</sup> .	413	341		
Publius Decius Mus. T. Emilius Mamercinus.	414	340		
Q. Publilius Philo. L. Furius Camillus. Caius Mænius.	415	339		
C. Sulpitius Longus. Publilius Ælius Pæstus.	416	338		
Lucius Papirius Crassus. Cæso Duillius.	417	337	<i>Caius Fabius Pictor</i> lived the year of Rome 451.	The
Marcus				K 4 which



409.

The new temple is dedicated by the consuls. P. Valerius Publicola is created dictator, to superintend the expiation of some pretended prodigies.

410.

Beginning of  
the war with  
the Sam-  
nites.

Beginning of the war with the Samnites, a people inhabiting that part of Italy, which, at present, goes by the name of Abruzzo. The Campanians, having been vigorously attacked by the Samnites, were obliged to implore the assistance of the Romans, who at first refused to take up arms in their behalf, because of the alliance subsisting between the Samnites and their republic. The Campanian ambassadors, in order to determine the senate, agreed to surrender all Campania to the republic, as a Roman province, pursuant to the powers with which they had been invested. The Samnites refusing to withdraw their troops from Campania, a war commences on both sides with great fury. Valerius, in his third consulate, obtains two victories in Campania, over these new and formidable enemies, at the same time that his colleague, Cornelius, discomfits them on the confines of Samnium. The two consuls were honoured with a triumph, but they did not both receive the same commendations. Cornelius had imprudently marched his army into a valley, commanded by the enemy, from whence he was extricated by the address and courage of P. Decius Mus, a legionary tribune. Decius appeared at the triumph, wearing three crowns, which had been conferred upon him by the consul and the army; in short, his glory eclipsed that of the general.

The news of so many victories, engaged the Falisci to change the truce which they had concluded with the Romans, into a treaty of alliance. The Carthaginians sent to compliment the Romans on their success.

411.

The consul Marcius detects a conspiracy formed by the soldiers,

ounce; in value it was about three farthings of our money, and ten of them made a *denarius*. The subdivisions were *semissis* half the *as*, *triens* the third part, *quadrans* the fourth, by some called *triuncis* and *terencius*; and *sextans* the sixth part. The *sestertius* was a silver coin equal to the fourth part of a *denarius*. *Nummus*, when mentioned as a piece of money, was the same with the *sestertius*. The *denarius* was the chief silver coin among the Romans, in value of our money eight pence half-penny farthing; it was also called *bigatus* and *quadrigatus*, from bearing the impression of the *bigæ* and *quadrigæ*. The subdivisions of it were the *quinarius*, or half, called likewise *victoriatus* from the image of victory on it; and the *sestertius*, which has been mentioned already. The Roman gold coin was the *aureus*, which generally weighed double the *denarius*, and in our money was worth 17s. 1d. *ob. qua*. The sums in use among the Romans were chiefly three, the *sestertium*, the *libra*, and the *talent*. The *sestertium* contained a thousand *sestertii*, about 7 l. 16 s. and 3 d. of our money. The *libra* contained twelve ounces of silver, and was worth 3 l. The *talent* contained twenty four *sestertia*, and was worth 187 l. 10 s. In marking their coin, the *as*, because it contained at first a pound weight, was expressed by an L; as the *sestertius* contained in value two pounds of brass and a half, it was marked thus HS or LLS.

who



CONSULS.	Y. of Rome.	Y. bef. J. C.	Eminent and learned men.	Cotemporary princes.
Marcus Valerius Corvus. 4 <sup>o</sup> .	418	336	The surname of <i>Pictor</i> (painter) which he transmitted to posterity, is owing to his having painted in fresco, the inside of the temple of <i>Salus</i> , which was built at Rome by Brutus the dictator. This was the first time that the elegant art of painting was known to have been employed in this city: it was communicated to the Romans by the Etruscans, who had received it of the Greeks. <i>Demosthenes</i> , an Athenian orator, born towards the hundredth olympiad, died in the hundred and fourteenth. His education was neglected by his guardians, who had been entrusted with the care of him after the death of his father; but nature had given him most surprising parts, and inspired him with a desire of improving them by study: at the age of seventeen, he pleaded against his guardians with the highest success. He soon became more formidable to the Macedonians, by his harangues, than the Athenian generals had been hitherto by their arms. At length, finding himself in danger of falling into Antipater's hands, who had sent some persons to seize him in the island of Calauria, the place of his retirement, he	which had been granted to them by the Persian kings. They shewed him Daniel's prophecy, who had foretold that a Greek would conquer Persia. Sanballat, governor of Samaria for Darius, goes over to Alexander, who grants him leave to build a temple at Garizzim, like that of Jerusalem. Before Christ
M. Attilius Regulus.	419	335		332
Titus Veturius Calvinus.	420	334		Onias is chosen the seventh high priest after the deliverance, in
Spurius Posthumius Albinus.	421	333		324
Lucius Papirius Cursor.	422	332		Ptolemy, the son of Lagus, king of Egypt, takes Jerusalem by stratagem, entering it on the sabbath day, when the Jews durst not defend themselves out of respect to the festival. Before Christ
C. Pætilius Libo.	423	331		320
A. Cornelius Cossus. 2 <sup>o</sup> .	424	330		Simeon, son of Onias, is the eighth high priest, since the deliverance, 303.
Cn. Domitius Calvinus.	425	329		Eleazar, brother of Simeon, the ninth high priest since the deliverance, 294.
Marcus Claudius Marcellus.	426	328		Manassih, son of Jaddua, the tenth high priest since the deliverance, 262.
C. Valerius Potitus Flaccus.	427	327		About this time, Ptolemy Philadelphus, desirous of having the finest library in the world, caused the sacred scriptures to be translated into Greek by seventy two interpreters, whom he invited from Jerusalem.
Lucius Papirius Crassus. 2 <sup>o</sup> .	428	326	ended	Kings
L. Plantius Venno.	429	325		
L. Emilius Mamercinus. 2 <sup>o</sup> .	430	324		
Cn. Plantius Decianus.	431	323		
P. Plantius Proculus.	432	322		
Publius Cornelius Scapula.	433	321		
L. Cornelius Lentulus.	434	320		
Quint. Publilius Philo. 2 <sup>o</sup> .				
C. Pætilius Libo. 2 <sup>o</sup> .				
L. Papirius Mugillanus.				
Lucius Furius Camillus. 2 <sup>o</sup> .				
Decius Junius Brutus Scaeva.				
Papirius is dictator, without consuls.				
C. Sulpitius Longus. 2 <sup>o</sup> .				
Quintus Aulius Cere- tanus.				
Q. Fabius Maximus Rullianus.				
L. Fulvius Corvus.				
T. Veturius Calvinus. 2 <sup>o</sup> .				
Spurius Posthumius Albinus. 2 <sup>o</sup> .				
Lucius Papirius Cursor.				
Q. Publilius Philo. 3 <sup>o</sup> .				
Lucius Papirius Cursor. 4 <sup>o</sup> .				
Quint.				

who had wintered at Capua (c): pleased with the plenty and luxury of that capital of Campania, they had taken a resolution to seize it for themselves, and to reside there. The consul tries to break their measures, by sending away the ring-leaders to Rome under different pretences. The mutineers desert in great numbers, sufficient to form an army. Valerius Corvus is appointed dictator on this occasion; but instead of fighting the rebels, he comes to a parley, and prevails on them to submit. The people were assembled in comitia on this very account, and granted them a general pardon. It is said, that usury was then absolutely abolished at Rome, because it had been the chief pretext of the revolt; and, at the same time, several other laws were enacted in favour of the people.

## 412.

Privernum  
revolts.

The Privernates make a sudden incursion, and ravage the territories of Norba and Setia (d), which were Roman colonies. Some of the other nations, bordering upon Rome, began likewise to stir; but they were quickly reduced by the consul Plautius. Æmilius, the other consul, marches an army into the territory of the Samnites, whom he found very quiet, not daring to appear in the field. Being thus withheld by fear, they sent deputies to Rome, and obtained the renewal of their alliance with the republic. The Latins break once more with Rome, and commit hostilities against the Samnites, with the assistance of the Campanians, who, on this occasion, shewed themselves more actuated with a desire of revenge against the Samnites, than with gratitude towards the Romans. The holding of the comitia is brought on before the usual time, in order to elect consuls capable of conducting this formidable war with honour. They chose Manlius Torquatus, and the famous P. Decius Mus, a plebeian.

## 413.

No consulate this long time had been so fruitful of signal events. The Romans conclude an alliance with Alexander king of Epirus, who

(c) *Capua* was a very ancient town of Campania, so called, (for its former name had been Vulturinus) either from Capys, a Samnite general by whom it was taken, after it had been founded by the Etruscans; or from its spacious fields, *à campis agro*, which seems to be Pliny's opinion; or from being the capital of the province, according to Strabo, who calls it κεφαλὴν τῷ ὄντι κατὰ τὴν ἐτυμότην τῷ ὀνόματι, *verè caput ut nomen sonat*. The beautiful situation of this city, and the fertility of the neighbouring soil, rendered it the seat of pleasure. It is now a village in the *terra di lavoro*, called *St. Maria di Capua*, distant about a mile from the new city.

(d) Norba and Setia were towns of Latium, eastward of Rome; the former was stiled by Dionysius ἡ ἀφανὴς πόλις, *laud ignobilis urbs*, and is now called *Norba*; the latter was famous for its excellent wine, as we find by Martial, lib. 4.

*Nam quæ paludes delicata Pomptinas*

*Ex arce clivi spectat uva Setini.*

and by Silius, lib. 19. *Ipsius mensis seposita Lyæi-Setia*. It still retains the name of *Sezza*.



CONSULS.	Y. of Rome.	Y. bef. J. C.	Eminent and learned men.	Contemporary princes.
Quint. Aullus Cere- nus. 2 <sup>o</sup> .			ended his days with poison, which he kept in a quill. Demosthe- nes was in his life time the prince of orators. Long after his death, Tully considered him as <i>the first in every kind of eloquence.</i>	<i>Kings of Egypt.</i> Nectanebis II. 350 Artaxerxes Ochus, 339 Artes, or Arsames, 336 Darius Codomannus, 332 Alexander the Great conquers Egypt, and keeps possession of that kingdom till his death, which happened in 324 After the death of Alexander, his gene- rals divide his con- quests among them- selves. Egypt fell to Ptolemy the son of Lagus, who reigned till . . . . . 285 Ptolemy Philadelphus, <i>Persian empire.</i> Artaxerxes Ochus, 339 Artes, or Arsames, 336 Darius, surnamed Codomannus, is defeated by Alexander at the battle of Arbela, the year before Christ 332 This prince is mur- dered in his flight by Bessus prince of Bac- tria. His death puts an end to the Persian empire. <i>Kings of Syria.</i> After the death of Alexander, Syria fell to Seleucus Nicanor, who died in 282 Antiochus Soter, 262 Antiochus II. <i>Kings of Macedon.</i> Philip, 336 Alexander the Great becomes sovereign of Asia in 331, and dies in . . . . . 324 Philip Arideus, 317 Alexander son of Rox- ana, 317 Cassander, 298 Ph il
L. Plautius Venno.	435	319		
M. Fossius Flaccinator.				
Quint. Emilius Bar- bula.	436	318		
C. Junius Brutus Bu- bulcus.				
Spurius Nautius Ru- tilus.	437	317	<i>Diogenes</i> , a Greek philosopher, born at Sinope, in the ninety first olympiad, died in the hundred and four- teenth.	
Marcus Popilius Læ- nas.				
Lucius Papirius Cursor.	438	316		
5 <sup>o</sup> .				
Q. Publilius Philo. 4 <sup>o</sup> .				
C. Sulpitius Longus.	439	315	He was the chief of the Cynics, without being the founder of that sect, for he had learnt it of Antisthe- nes. Though he was not a professed philo- sopher, he frequently gave excellent lessons in that branch of learn- ing; witness his an- swer to Alexander, which every body must have heard. His works are lost; in all like- lihood more would be learnt from them, than from a narrative of his conduct and behaviour. His life was one con- tinued series of oddi- ties, which would render those who at- tempted to imitate them, highly ridicu- lous.	
3 <sup>o</sup> .				
M. Pætilius Libo.				
Lucius Papirius Cursor.	440	314		
6 <sup>o</sup> .				
C. Junius Brutus Bu- bulcus. 2 <sup>o</sup> .				
Marcus Valerius Maxi- mus.	441	313		
Publius Decius Mus.				
Caius Junius Brutus Buculeus. 3 <sup>o</sup> .	442	312		
Quintus Emilius Bar- bula. 2 <sup>o</sup> .				
Q. Fabius Maximus Rullianus. 2 <sup>o</sup> .	443	311		
C. Marcius Rutilus.				
<i>Popirius is made dicta- tor, without consuls.</i>	444	310		
Q. Fabius Maximus Rullianus. 3 <sup>o</sup> .	445	309		
P. Decius Mus. 2 <sup>o</sup> .				
Ap. Claudius Cæcus.	446	308		
Lucius Volumnius.				
Quint. Marcius Tre- mulus.	447	307		
P. Cornelius Arvina.				
Lucius Posthumius Mc- gellus.	448	306	<i>Epicurus</i> , a Greek philosopher, born in the hundred and ninth olympiad, died in the hundred and twenty seventh.	
T. Minucius Auguri- nus.				
<i>For the latter was sub- stituted</i>				
M. Fulvius Pætus.				
P. Sulpitius Saverrio.	449	305	The sect, of which he was the founder, and which bears his name, was an impious, but not a debauched sect,	
P. Sempronius Sophus.				
Ser,				



was come into Italy at the invitation of the Tarentines (*e*) to assist them against the Brutians (*f*). “ The king of Epirus, says father Catrou, “ accepted of the invitation as readily, as if he had agreed with his “ nephew Alexander, to conquer all the west, while the Macedonian “ undertook the conquest of the east. This prince expected to meet “ with as great a harvest of glory in Sicily, Italy, and Africa, as his “ nephew found in Persia and the rest of Asia. But the projects of the “ king of Epirus were not so successful, as those of the Macedonian “ prince.”

War against  
the Latins.

The Latins send ambassadors to Rome, to signify to the senate, that they would lay down their arms, on condition that one of the two consuls should be always chosen from their nation, and that one half of the senate should be Latins, and the other half Romans. These proposals were rejected with disdain, and war was declared against the Latins with the usual formalities. The two armies were already in presence of each other, when young Manlius, son of the consul, accepted of a challenge to a single combat from one of the Latin chiefs, contrary to the orders of the generals. The young Roman, animated by the remembrance of a victory, which his father had obtained, on the like occasion, over a Gaul, attacks and vanquishes his enemy: then, flushed with victory, but stained with disobedience, he returns to the camp, where, by his father's orders, he is first crowned as a victor, and then punished with death. Battle of Veferis (*g*). The consul Decius, seeing the left wing, under his command, give way, devotes himself to the *dii manes* for the safety of the army, and then rides full speed into the thickest of the enemy's battalions, where he fell to the ground with numberless wounds. Care had been taken to inform the troops of this devotement, which was supposed to have been ordained by the gods; so that

Battle of  
Veferis.

(*e*) The Tarentines were the inhabitants of Tarentum, a noble and ancient city of Calabria. The Greeks call it *Tárās* in the masculine, which has been imitated by Lucan, lib. 5. *Antiquusque Taras, secretaque litora Leucæ*. It is said to have been built by the Lacedæmonians; hence Ovid, met. 15. *Lacedæmoniumque Tarentum*. Horace, lib. 1. od. 27. says it was sacred to Neptune, a temple having been built there to him by Phalantus. The Tarentines were much addicted to ease and luxury; therefore Horace calleth it *imbelle*, and *molle Tarentum*. It is still a large town, known by the name of *Tarento*.

(*f*) The Brutians were a people of Italy, who inhabited that peninsula, which extends from Lucania to the streights separating Sicily from Italy. The derivation of the word is uncertain. Their country was called *Bruttii* in the plural, *locus est Bruttii Crispinus oppugnare conatus*. Liv. lib. 27.

(*g*) Whether Veferis was a town, or only a river, is uncertain: we know only that it was situate at the foot of mount Vesuvius. Cluverius takes it to have been a town, because no other ancient author, except Aurelius Victor, calls it a river; but they all make use of the expression *ad Veferim*, *apud Veferim*: and besides, there is no river of any note in that part, except the *Sebetus*, the *Sarnus*, and *Vesivus*. However, one would think, that the authority of the abovementioned historians should decide the matter, since he says, in express terms, *peditis apud Veferim fluvium castris*. Aur. vict. in Decio patre.

the



C O N S U L S.	Y. of Rome.	Y. bef. J. C.	Eminent and learned men.	Cotemporary princes.
Ser. Cornelius Lentulus.	450	304	fect, as some have imagined. It has been proved, that the pleasure in which he placed the <i>summum bonum</i> , is that serenity of mind, which constantly attends the virtuous. He taught that the deity does not concern himself about matters here below, and that the soul is material and mortal. This doctrine of Epicurus, obtained greatly among the Romans; and Lucretius brought it into high repute. by his beautiful poem on nature. There was wanting, a poet of equal abilities to enter the list with him; such a poet has made his appearance in our times, and overthrown his adversary.	Philip, 297
Lucius Genucius.				Antipater, 294
M. Livius Dexter.	451	303		Demetrius, 287
M. Emilius Paulus.				Pyrrhus, 286
Fabius Maximus and Valerius Corvus are created dictators, without consuls.	452	302		Lysimachus, 281
Marcus Valerius Corvus. 5°.	453	301	of Epicurus, obtained greatly among the Romans; and Lucretius brought it into high repute. by his beautiful poem on nature. There was wanting, a poet of equal abilities to enter the list with him; such a poet has made his appearance in our times, and overthrown his adversary.	Seleucus, 280
Q. Apuleius Pansa.				Ptolemy Ceraunus, 279
M. Fulvius Pæticus.	454	300		Meleager, 279
T. Manlius Torquatus.				Antipater, 279
In the room of the latter was substituted				Sosthenes, 277
Marcus Valerius Corvus. 6°.			of Epicurus, obtained greatly among the Romans; and Lucretius brought it into high repute. by his beautiful poem on nature. There was wanting, a poet of equal abilities to enter the list with him; such a poet has made his appearance in our times, and overthrown his adversary.	Anarchy till towards the end of the year 276
L. Cornelius Scipio.	455	299		Antigonus Gonatas.
Cn. Fulvius Centumalus.				
Q. Fabius Maximus Rullianus. 4°.	456	298		
P. Decius Mus.				
Appius Claudius Cæcus. 2°.	457	297	of Epicurus, obtained greatly among the Romans; and Lucretius brought it into high repute. by his beautiful poem on nature. There was wanting, a poet of equal abilities to enter the list with him; such a poet has made his appearance in our times, and overthrown his adversary.	Kings of Sparta.
L. Volumnius. 2°.				Branch of Euristhenes.
Q. Fabius Maximus Rullianus. 5°.	458	296		Branch of the Proclidae.
P. Decius Mus. 4°.				Cleomenes II. 309
L. Posthumius Megellus. 2°.	459	295		Arcus, 265
M. Attilius Regulus.			of Epicurus, obtained greatly among the Romans; and Lucretius brought it into high repute. by his beautiful poem on nature. There was wanting, a poet of equal abilities to enter the list with him; such a poet has made his appearance in our times, and overthrown his adversary.	Acrotatus, 264
Lucius Papirius Cursor.	460	294		Arcus II. 267
Spurius Carvilius Maximus.				Leonidas, expelled in 254
Q. Fabius Maximus Gurges.	461	293		Eudamidas, 295
D. Junius Brutus Scæva.				Archidamus III. Eudamidas II.
L. Posthumius Megellus. 3°.	462	292	of Epicurus, obtained greatly among the Romans; and Lucretius brought it into high repute. by his beautiful poem on nature. There was wanting, a poet of equal abilities to enter the list with him; such a poet has made his appearance in our times, and overthrown his adversary.	Athens continues to be governed by perpetual archons.
C. Junius Brutus Bubulcus.				
Publius Cornelius Rufinus.	463	291		Kings of Pontus
Manius Curius Dentatus.				Arlobarzanes, 336
M. Valerius Maximus Corvinus.	464	290		Mithridates II. 301
Q. Cædicius Noctua.			of Epicurus, obtained greatly among the Romans; and Lucretius brought it into high repute. by his beautiful poem on nature. There was wanting, a poet of equal abilities to enter the list with him; such a poet has made his appearance in our times, and overthrown his adversary.	Mithridates III. 265
Quint.				Arlobarzanes II.
				Kings of Bithynia.
				The succession of these kings, who were very powerful, is obscure and interrupted. Some authors reckon Dædalus, or Dydalus, the first king, and that he mounted the throne in the year 385 before Christ. Next to whom they place Botiras.



Battle of  
Trifanum.

the consul's death filled them with admiration and fresh courage. In consequence hereof, the Romans obtained a complete victory; and made so great a slaughter of the Latins, that scarce a fourth part of them escaped. Yet they rallied, and were defeated a second time at Trifanum (*b*), a village between Sinuessā (*i*) and (*k*) Minturnæ. So considerable was their loss, that all the Latins, and, after their example, the Campanians, submitted to the Romans.

414.

The Latins, dissatisfied with the Romans for having stripped them of part of their lands to be distributed among the soldiers, revolt once more. Publilius attacks them, takes their camp, and is honoured with a triumph. His colleague Æmilius, demands the same honour, without having done any exploit to deserve it; the senate refusing to comply with his request, he joins with the plebeian party. Upon which, the fathers oblige him to name a dictator; and he appoints his colleague Publilius. This magistrate, being of plebeian original, availed himself of his dictatorship, to make three laws contrary to the inclination of the senate. The first revived the old law, that the plebiscita should bind the senate, as well as the plebeians; in all probability it had not been put into execution. The second ordained that the senate should approve of the laws, before they were proposed to the comitia, and that the people should put the last hand to them. The third decreed that one of the two censors should be chosen from among the people. This last law was executed so exactly, that for upwards of two hundred years, a plebeian was always joined with a patrician in the censorship.

415.

All Latium  
subdued.

All Latium and Campania are brought under subjection to the Romans; but some of their towns received the freedom of Roman citizens, on the footing of *municipia* (*l*). The republic conferred on both

(*b*) Yet it was nearer to Sinuessā than Minturnæ, for Diodorus says this battle was fought *πρὸς πύλιν Σινύσσαν*.

(*i*) *Sinuessā* was an ancient city of new Latium, on the borders of Campania, situate near the sea, and not far from the mouth of the river Liris. In the neighbourhood of this place were the baths called *Aquæ Sinuessanæ*, which, according to Pliny, lib. 31. were famous for curing barrenness in women, and madness in men, and Silius from thence calls this town *Sinuessā tepens*. Tacitus, lib. 12. says that the emperor Claudius used these waters for the recovery of his health. The ruins of Sinuessā, which have preserved the ancient name, are still to be seen near the village of *Bocca di Mandragone*. In this neighbourhood were the *mons Massivus* and the *Falernus ager*, famous for generous wines; the former is still called *monte Massivo*.

(*k*) *Minturnæ* was a city of new Latium, situate on the river Liris, now called Garigliano, between Formiæ and Sinuessā. Near this place were the *palus Minturnensis*, or the great marshes, where Marius lay a long time hid, after he had been defeated by Sylla. Paternulus, lib. 2. calls this place *Maricæ palus*, because it had a grove sacred to this nymph. The ruins of Minturnæ are remaining, and known by the name of *la barca del Garigliano*.

(*l*) *Municipium* is from *municeps*, a person *qui capit munia*, one of a town, whose inhabitants were free of the city of Rome, and had a right to the privileges and offices thereof.



CONSULS.	<i>Y. of Rome.</i>	<i>Y. bef. J. C.</i>	<i>Eminent and learned men.</i>	<i>Contemporary princes.</i>
Quint. Marcius Tremulus. 2 <sup>o</sup> .	465	289	this celebrated orator, that he had a very great love for his country: for seeing it enslaved by Philip, king of Macedonia, he starved himself to death, at the age of ninety eight.	Bias mounts the throne in 378, and, after a reign of fifty years, dies in 328 Zypoetes, 281 Nicomedes I.
Publ. Cornelius Arvinus. 2 <sup>o</sup> .				
M. Claudius Marcellus.	466	288		
C. Nautius Rutilus, M. Valerius Maximus Potitus.	467	287		
C. Æmilius Pætus.			Plato, a Greek philosopher, chief of the Academics, born in the eighty seventh olympiad, died in the hundred and eighth.	
C. Claudius Canina.	468	286		
M. Emilius Lepidus.				
C. Claudius Servilius Tucca.	469	285		
L. Cæcilius Metellus.				
P. Cornelius Dolabella Maximus.	470	284		
Cn. Domitius Calvinus.			Born with an excellent taste for every branch of polite learning, he applied himself successively to painting, poetry, and the mathematics; but his ardent love of philosophy made him relinquish all other pursuits, to apply himself to this entirely. Of all the heathen philosophers, Plato is the sublimest; his doctrine, in many things, bears such resemblance to that of Christianity, that most of the primitive fathers of the church were Platonic philosophers; several of the ancient heretics were also Platonists; but they adhered too strictly to their master's opinions. Plato's republic, is a work that does honour to his heart; there he supposes mankind such as they ought to be, not as they are.	
Q. Emilius Papus.	471	283		
C. Fabrici Luscinius.				
L. Emilius Barbula.	472	282		
Q. Marc. Philippus.				
P. Valerius Levinus.	473	281		
Tiberius Coruncanius Nepos.				
P. Sulpitius Saverrio.	474	280		
P. Decius Mus.				
C. Fabricius Luscinius. 2 <sup>o</sup> .	475	279		
Q. Emilius Papus. 2 <sup>o</sup> .				
P. Corn. Rufinus. 2 <sup>o</sup> .	476	278		
C. Junius Brutus Bulbus. 2 <sup>o</sup> .				
Q. Fabius Maximus Gurgus. 2 <sup>o</sup> .	477	277		
C. Genusius Clepsina.				
L. Cornelius Lentulus.	478	276		
Manius Curius Dentatus. 2 <sup>o</sup> .				
Servius Cornelius Merenda.	479	275		
Manius Curius Dentatus. 3 <sup>o</sup> .				
C. Fabius Dorso Licinius.	480	274		
Gaius Claudius Canina. 2 <sup>o</sup> .				
Lucius Papirius Cursor. 2 <sup>o</sup> .	481	273		
Sp.			Publius Sempronius Sophus, a Roman civilian, consul in the year of Rome 449 In	

both consuls, not only the honour of a triumph, but that of two equestrian statues of brass, which were erected in the forum. Here it was that the pulpit stood, whence the Roman magistrates harangued the people; and the consul Mænius on this occasion adorned the pulpit with the brass beaks of the vessels taken from the *Antiates*; from *The rostra*, whence it was ever after called the *Rostra*.

416.

The prætorship is for the first time granted to a plebeian; this was Q. Publilius Philo, a person of note, and already honoured with the consular and dictatorial dignities. “The senate, says M. Rollin, not having been able to exclude the plebeians from the first offices of the state, did not think proper to give themselves unnecessary trouble in order to debar them from the prætorship.”

A vestal, named Minucia, undergoes the usual punishment, for having violated the law of chastity.

417.

War with the Sidicini and Aurunci, who a few years before had submitted to the republic. The Aurunci inhabited the towns of Fundi (*m*), Caieta (*n*), Formiæ (*o*), Minturnæ, Sueffa (*p*), and Aurunca (*q*). The little territory of the

thereof. The privileges whereby a Roman citizen was constituted such, were his having a right to possess a house in Rome, to give his suffrage in the comitia, and to stand candidate for any public employment. The municipal towns enjoyed the privilege of Roman citizens, by a particular grant from the senate and people, without being obliged to change their own form of government.

(*m*) Fundi still retains the name of *Fondi*; it was situate between Terracina and Formiæ, sixteen miles from the former, and thirteen from the latter. It is mentioned by Hor. sat. 1. 5. 34. *Fundos libantur liquimus*. Near this place was the *Cæcubus ager*, famous for its excellent wine.

(*n*) Caieta, still known by its ancient name, is now a strong town, and harbour in the kingdom of Naples. It is said to have been so called from Æneas's nurse, who was buried there, according to Virgil, *Æn.* 7.

*Tu quoque litoribus nostris Æneia nutrix  
Æternam moriens famam Caieta dedisti.*

(*o*) Formiæ was situated between Caieta and Minturnæ, and is said by Strabo to have been built by the Lacedæmonians, by whom it was called *Οἰκιστὶς διὰ τὸ εὐαγόν, à portus opportunitate*. It was the ancient seat of the *Læstrigones*, and was famous for its good wine, Hor. lib. 1. od. 20. and for Cicero's country seat, *Formiarum prædium*, in that neighbourhood. The ruins of the place are still to be seen not far from the town of *Mola*. As to *Minturnæ*, see p. 142.

(*p*) This town, which stood in Campania, was called *Sueffa Aurunca*, to distinguish it from *Sueffa Pometia* in Latium. It was the birth place of Lucilius the satyrist, and is mentioned by Silius without its cognomen, *detritaque bellis Sueffa*. In Cicero's time it was a *municipium*, and is now called *Sessa*.

(*q*) Aurunca was an ancient city of new Latium, said to have been built by Auson, the son of Ulysses and Calypso, from whom this territory was called *Ausonia*, which name was afterwards extended to the whole country from the Circeum promontorium to the streights of Sicily.

Sidicini



CONSULS.	Y. of Rome.	Y. bef. J. C.	Eminent and learned men.
Sp. Carvilius Maximus. 2 <sup>o</sup> .			In the second law of the Digest, <i>de origine Juris</i> , it is observed, that the surname of <i>Sophus</i> , or sage, had been given to none before Sempronius, and was enjoyed by nobody after him: his works are all lost.
C. Quintius Claudius. L. Genucius.	482	272	
Cn. Cornelius Blasio. C. Genucius Clepsina. 2 <sup>o</sup> .	483	271	
Caius Fabius Pictor. Q. Ogulnius Gallus.	484	270	
P. Sempronius Sophus. App. Claudius Crassus.	485	269	
L. Julius Libo. M. Attilius Regulus.	486	268	Pyrrho, a Greek philosopher, flourished in the hundred and twentieth olympiad.
Nom. Fabius Pictor. Decius Junius Pera.	487	267	
Q. Fabius Maximus Gurges. 3 <sup>o</sup> .	488	266	Doubting, which seems to be the foundation of all philosophy, was the very thing that bewildered the Pyrrhonists. Under a pretence that we judge of things only by comparison, that is, by the relations they bear to each other and to ourselves, they established it as a maxim, that nothing can be either good or bad in itself.
L. Mamilius Vitulus. Appius Claudius Caudex.	489	265	
M. Fulvius Flaccus. M. Valerius Flaccus Messala.	490	264	
M. Otacilius Crassus. L. Posthumius Megellus.	491	263	
Q. Mamilius Vitulus. Lucius Valerius Flaccus.	492	262	
T. Otacilius Crassus. Cn. Cornelius Scipio Asina.	493	261	Tiberius Coruncanius, a Roman civilian, consul in the year of Rome 473.
C. Duillius Nepos. L. Cornelius Scipio.	494	260	
C. Aquilius Florus. A. Attilius Calatinus.	495	259	He was the first that gave public lectures of jurisprudence at Rome; but his works were not extant even in Justinian's time.
C. Sulpitius Paternulus. C. Attilius Regulus Serranus.	496	258	
Cn. Cornelius Blasio. L. Manlius Vulso. Quintus Cædicius.	497	257	Zeno, a Greek philosopher, chief of the Stoics, died in the hundred and twenty ninth olympiad.
In the room of the latter was substituted Marcus Attilius Regulus. 2 <sup>o</sup> .			
Ser. Fulvius Pætinus Nobilior. M. Emilius Paulus.	498	256	He made the <i>summum bonum</i> consist in living agreeably to nature, and according to the
Cn.			

Sidicini consisted of the towns of Teanum (r), Atina (s), and Fregellæ (t).

418.

Valerius Corvus defeats the Ausones, and dispossesses them of *Cales* (u), almost the only town they had then remaining, out of such a number of provinces heretofore subject to their dominion. Before the foundation of Rome, the Ausones were possessed of all that part of Italy which extended from the Straits of Sicily as far as the country of the Volsci; and sometimes all Italy went under the name of Ausonia.

419.

The Romans send a colony to *Cales*.

420.

To this year we may refer the reduction of the *Sidicini*.

421.

A false report being spread, that the Gauls were making new preparations of war against the Romans, Papirius Crassus is named dictator. The Romans conclude an alliance with Alexander, king of Epirus, who had made a second descent into Italy, at the request of the Tarentines. Two new tribes were added to the old ones, which rendered the number in all twenty nine.

422.

An epidemical distemper raged this year in Rome, when several ladies are said to have made use of this opportunity to dispatch their husbands by poison, which they mixed in the medicines prepared for the sick. It is mentioned also that one of their she-slaves, having discovered the horrid conspiracy to the senate, the guilty ladies all by agreement drank the potion of their own preparing, which served at the same time for their conviction and punishment. Historians observe, that hitherto there had been no notice taken of assassination by poison in the Roman laws, so contrary was it to their manners. The

(r) *Teanum* was a town of Campania, in the Appian way, and still known by the name of *Tiano*. It was called *Sidicinum*, to distinguish it from *Teanum Apulum* in Apulia.

(s) *Atina* was a town of the Volscians, on a ridge of the Apennines, near the river Melpis. Virgil takes notice of it, *Æn.* lib. 7. *Tela nova Atina potens, Tiburque superbum*. It is still called *Atino*.

(t) *Fregellæ* was a town of Latium upon the river Liris, above the conflux of the *Troilus*: by its revolt from the Romans, it was quite destroyed, and was only a village even in Strabo's time, *νῦν μὲν κώμη, πόλις δὲ γενομένη ἀξιώλογος*. Hence Silius, lib. 5. says, *Eunc tristis luxere Fregellæ*. It is now a village called *Ponte Corvo*.

(u) *Cale*, or *Cales* in the plural, was a town of Campania, between *Tiano* and *Casilino*, seven miles from the latter. Strabo, lib. 5. calls it *πόλιν ἀξιώλογον, urbem memorabilem*. It was famous for its excellent wine, thence called *Calenum*, Hor. lib. 1. od. 20. *Cæcubum, & prælo demitam Caleno, tu bibes uvam*.

senate





senate appointed a dictator to drive a nail into the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus; a ceremony which they formerly had recourse to in dangerous conjunctures.

423.

The consuls lay siege to Privernum, the inhabitants of which city, in conjunction with those of Fundi, had ravaged the territories of their neighbours, the allies of Rome.

The Ædiles caused portico's to be built at the entrance of the Circus, from whence the chariots were to start at the races; this place was called *Carceres*.

424.

Privernum  
taken.

The taking of Privernum: the town is dismantled, but the inhabitants obtain the freedom of Roman citizens, for which they were indebted to one of their countrymen, who was taken prisoner in this war. Being asked in the senate-house, what punishment he thought his fellow citizens deserved? *that punishment*, answered he, *which is due to men, who think themselves worthy of liberty*. This answer, truly Roman, pleased the greatest part of the senators; and they were of opinion, that a people, whose only desire was liberty, and whose only object of fear was slavery, deserved to be Romans.

A colony is sent to Anxur.

425.

Not long after, another colony was sent to Fregellæ, a city heretofore belonging to the territory of the Sidicini, but which had been seized upon and dismantled by the Samnites. As the Romans had subdued the country of the Sidicini, they thought they had a right to possess themselves of Fregellæ. This step set the Samnites once more at variance with the republic.

War with  
the Palæpo-  
litans.

War declared against the Palæpolitans: these people depending on the assistance of the Samnites, had committed great hostilities on the territories of Capua and mount Falernus. Palæpolis (x) was a town situate in the neighbourhood of Neapolis, on the frontiers of Magna Græcia, which was the eastern part of Italy, extending from Tarentum as far as Naples, and inhabited by Greek colonies.

A plebeian, whose name was Flavius, ordered the flesh of the victims that had been offered up at his mother's funeral, to be distributed among the people. This distribution of raw flesh (*visceratio*) in process of time became very common.

(x) *Palæpolis* stood almost on the same spot as *Neapolis*, or the present city of Naples, and was doubtless a part of the ancient Parthenope, which changed its name by the arrival of a new colony. It was called Parthenope from one of the syrens, who was buried here, and whose tomb was still to be seen in Strabo's time, *Νεάπολις, ὅπου δείκνυται μνήμα τῶν Σειρήνων μιᾶς Παρθενόπης*, lib. 5. Velleius says it was a colony of the *Cumani* that built Naples, which before went by the name of Parthenope Vell. lib. 1. Ovid calls it, *in otia natam Parthenopen*, a character which it still retains, being the seat of pleasure and amusement.



426.

Publilius forms the blockade of Paëropolis; while Cornelius, his colleague, leads his troops into the neighbourhood of Samnium, to watch the motions of the Samnites, who threatened a rupture. These expeditions having hindered the consuls from coming to Rome to preside at the elections, the republic was for some time fallen into an inter-regnum.

427.

The Samnites come to an open rupture with Rome; the new consuls enter Samnium, and make themselves masters of several cities. War with the Samnites.

Publilius had received the title of proconsul from the people, in order to continue the siege of Paëropolis: he takes this city by holding correspondence with the enemy; and was the first man that obtained a triumph, without being either consul or dictator. Neapolis concludes an alliance with the Romans; and the example is followed by the Apullians (s) and Lucanians (t). Tarentum, formerly a Greek colony, grown jealous of the rapid success of the Romans, seduces the Lucanians to renounce their alliance, and to join the Samnites. The Tarentines had lately lost a powerful protector, which was Alexander, king of Epirus.

Abolition of the law, by which creditors were empowered to seize on the persons of their insolvent debtors, and to lay them in irons: the base and cruel treatment shewn by a creditor to his debtor's son, who had voluntarily surrendered himself in the place of his father, gave occasion to this new regulation.

428.

The Vestini (u), a people originally of Sabinia, declare for the Samnites, but are defeated by the consul Brutus. Camillus, the other consul, who was to have the conduct of the war against the Samnites, falling dangerously ill, Papirius Cursor is created dictator, who appoints Q. Fabius Rullianus, his general of horse, the first of the Fabian family that merited the surname of *Maximus*. The dictator was withheld by a religious scruple, just as he appeared within sight of The Vestini defeated.

(s) The Apulians inhabited that part of Italy, which extended from the river Frento quite to the Straights, parting Italy from Greece. The country of Apulia was divided into three parts, viz. *Daunia*, lying between the Frento and the Ausidus, now L'Ofanto; *Peucetia*, extending from the Ausidus to the isthmus between Brundisium and Tarentum; and *Messapia*, called also Calabria and Iapygia, comprehending the peninsula.

(t) The Lucanians inhabited that part of Italy which lay between the Silarus and the Lous, now the Laino, the former parting it from the country of the Picentini, and the latter from that of the Bruttii. Lucania was divided from Peucetia by the river Bradanus, now the Brandano; and from Calabria by the upper part of the Sinus Tarentinus, or gulf of Tarento.

(u) Their country lay eastward of Picenum, and contained the following cities, *Angulus*, *Pinna*, and *Avia*, or *Avella*, now called *Civita di St. Angelo*, *Civita di Penna*, and *Aquila*.



Q. Fabius  
defeats the  
Samnites,

Papirius  
Curfor de-  
feats the  
Samnites,

the enemy, remembering that there had been some obscurity in the auspices before his departure: and therefore he returns to Rome to renew this ceremony. Fabius, during his absence, and contrary to his orders, gives battle to the enemy, and obtains a complete victory, being said to have slain twenty thousand on the spot. Notwithstanding the importance of this advantage, death would have been his reward, if the assembly of the Roman people, and the tribunes to whom Fabius appealed, had not interceded in favour of the young conqueror. Papirius, upon his return to the camp, was obliged to undergo the slights of his whole army, who had a great affection for Fabius; the soldiers but faintly contributed to the victory, which the general, by his ability and prudence, obtained, in some measure, in spite of them. Papirius is continued in the dictatorship.

429.

Papirius de-  
feats the  
Samnites a  
second time.

Papirius defeats the Samnites a second time, and reduces them to sue for peace; for which he refers them to the senate, after having obliged them to cloath all his troops. The senate grant them only a year's truce.

430.

The Samnites break the truce before the expiration of the year, and draw the Apulians over to their party; but the presence of the two armies, commanded by the consuls, prevent them from undertaking any thing.

431.

The Sam-  
nites and  
Apulians  
defeated,

This year the enemy shewed more courage; for they ventured an engagement with the Romans, and were defeated, the Samnites first, and afterwards the Apulians. The loss of the Samnites was so considerable, that they imagined they should never recover it: and, therefore, to appease the Romans, they came to a resolution to deliver up to them one of the principal men of the nation, whose name was Brutulus, and who was looked upon as the author of the breach of the truce: but Brutulus laid violent hands upon himself, before he was brought to Rome. Notwithstanding this submissive step of the Samnites, peace was refused them, very likely because they would not submit to particular conditions, which the Romans insisted on. Livy attributes the whole glory of the abovementioned victory over the Samnites to the dictator A. Cornelius; but it is believed by others, that he was named dictator merely to preside at the games in the absence of the consuls, and in consequence of the prætor's illness.

432.

The Caudine  
forks.

The Samnites being reduced to despair, have recourse again to arms, under the conduct of Pontius, one of their ablest generals. The Roman army arriving at a place called the *Caudine forks* (u), in Samnium,

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(u) *Furcæ Caudinæ* or *Caudinæ Furculæ*, were so called from the neighbouring town of Caudium, in the Appian way, between Calatia and Beneventum: Holstenius says there



nium, imprudently descend into a valley surrounded on all sides with mountains and inaccessible rocks. The consuls, deceived by false intelligence, imagined that the Samnite army was laying siege to Luceria (\*) in Apulia; upon which they made what haste they could to get through this defile, in order to come up with the enemy, when they found themselves on a sudden hemmed in on all sides. The Romans, being thus vanquished, without having it in their power to fight, are forced to submit to ignominious terms; Pontius obliges them to pass under the yoke; and six hundred knights are given as hostages, to secure the performance of the promise made by the consuls. So much ignominy threw the Romans into the same despair, as had formerly possessed the hearts of the Samnites. They proceeded to Capua, a city at that time in alliance with the republic, without seeming to be affected with the hospitality and kind assistance of the inhabitants. Silent and melancholy, they moved on to Rome, which they entered by night. The whole city, thunderstruck at this fatal news, had already gone into mourning; the shops and courts of justice were shut up, as in times of the heaviest calamities. The consuls, in pursuance of an order of the senate, appoint a dictator to proceed to the election of their successors.

433.

There had been no treaty in form with the Samnites, so that the Romans looked upon themselves as discharged from every sort of obligation, by delivering up the consuls and the other officers concerned in the convention to the Samnites. Even Posthumus himself, one of the consuls of the preceding year, had made this proposal, which was a stronger proof of his magnanimity, than of the sincerity of the Romans. The Samnites despised this low artifice, and sent back the officers that were offered to be delivered up to them.

Advice being brought that the Capuans were preparing for a revolt, C. Mænius, a plebeian, is immediately created dictator, with a commission to enquire into crimes against the state. The heads of the conspiracy lay violent hands upon themselves, to avoid a more severe death.

Disturbances at Rome, occasioned by the encroachments of the dictator, who, under pretence of executing his commission, wanted to inquire into the practice of the nobility in canvassing for offices: but the discontent arising from this behaviour, obliges him to resign. Cornelius Lentulus, being nominated in his place, takes L. Papirius,

there is a village in this place, which still retaineth the name of *Furcie*. Near *Caudium* stands mount *Taburnus*, mentioned by Virgil, *Geor.* 2.

— *juvat Ismara Baccho*

*Conferere, atque olea magnum vestire Taburnum.*

(\*) Luceria was a Roman colony, situate on the confines of the Hirpini. Strabo takes notice of the ancient offerings in the temple of Minerva in this city, *ἐν τῷ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἱερῷ τῆς ἐν Λυκερίᾳ παλαιὰ ἀναθήματα*. It is now called *Lucco dell' Pagani*, situate in the province of Capitanata, in the kingdom of Naples.



The Samnites defeated in the neighbourhood of Caudium.

one of the consuls of the year, for his general of the horse. These two generals were entrusted to wipe off the disgrace, which the Roman arms had received the preceding year from the Samnites; Cornelius obtains a complete victory over them in the neighbourhood of Caudium; Papirius defeats them on the other side, and compels them to pass under the yoke before Luceria, with Pontius at their head. Here the Samnite general had confined the six hundred knights, who had been surrendered as hostages by the Romans; but now they were delivered back, together with the town,

434.

Ferentum taken.

The taking of Ferentum (y), a town of Apulia, in alliance with the Samnites. Papirius subdues and chastises the inhabitants of Satricum, who, after the affair of the Caudine forks, had received a garrison of the enemy. So high was this general then in reputation for valour and abilities, that Livy is not afraid to say, he would have been a match for Alexander the Great, had this prince, after the conquest of Asia, turned his arms towards Europe.

435.

A two years truce granted to the Samnites.

The Samnites, humbled by so many misfortunes, apply for peace to the Romans: the senate moved with their tears, were inclined to comply with their request; but it could not be done without the resolution of the people, who alone were possessed of the right of making peace and war. The comitia granted them only a two years truce. The towns of Teanum (z) and Canusium (a), in Apulia, surrender to the Romans, and give hostages.

Livy, mentioning the number of troops that Rome was able at this time to set on foot, makes them amount to two hundred and fifty thousand. In all likelihood, the above enumeration was made in this year's census, though the same author takes no notice of it.

(y) This city was situate on the confines of Lucania, and by some writers is called *Ferentum*. We find it mentioned by Horace—*quicumque saltusque Bantinos, & aruum pingue tenent humilis Ferenti*. It still retains the name of Forenza.

(z) *Teanum* was a city of Apulia, called *Teanum Apulorum*, to distinguish it from the other in the Appian way, known by the name of Sidicinum. Strabo, lib. 6, says, that τὸ Ἀπελον Τέαρον, *Teanum Apulum*, is ἐν μεσογαίᾳ, in *Mediterraneo situm*. Its remains are still to be seen upon the banks of the Fiento, now *Fertore*, sixteen miles from the mouth of that river, at a place called *Civitate* in the province of *Capitanata*.

(a) *Canusium* was a town of Apulia, situate on the right bank of the river *Aufidus*, now *Ofanto*. It was famous for its fine wool of a ruddy colour, whence *lana Canusina*, Mart. 14. 127. and *Canusinatus*, one that has clothes made of that wool, id. 9. 23. They spoke a sort of mixed language, partly Greek, and partly Latin. Hence *Uox Canusinae more bilinguis*. It is mentioned by Silius, lib. 10,

*Jam Latius sese Canusina in mœnia miles  
Colligere cœperat.*

Which shews it was not far from the famous village of *Cannæ*, where Hannibal gained so complete a victory over the Romans. This town is still called *Canosa*, and belongs to the province of Bari in the kingdom of Naples.



Two new tribes are added to the old ones, which made the number in all thirty one.

This very year, a præfect, or governor (præfectus) was sent to Præfectures. Capua, at the request of the inhabitants, in order to pacify their intestine broils. The name of *præfectures* was given to towns that were not at liberty to act according to their old laws, viz. those by which they had been governed, before they became subject to Rome. They were directed by such laws only, as the præfect, who was sent yearly by the Romans, thought proper to prescribe (*b*). Of these præfects, some were chosen by the people of Rome, and others received their commission from the prætor.

436.

The inhabitants of Antium, in imitation of those of Capua, had recourse to the republic for laws; this colony, however, was not erected into a præfecture, it was only regulated, that it should be governed by its patrons. It was then the custom not only for families, but intire cities, to chuse patrons at Rome: and upon the enlargement of the empire, whole provinces used to put themselves under the protection of some potent senator,

437.

At the expiration of the truce, the Samnites have recourse again to arms, and are defeated by the dictator L. Æmilius.

The Sam-  
nites de-  
feated.

438.

A dictator was likewise this year appointed to command the Roman armies. Q. Fabius nominates Aulus Cerretanus his master of the horse, who, in the very first engagement, slays the general of the Samnites, and is killed soon after himself, by this general's brother. In a second engagement, the dictator sets fire to a few tents, as if he intended to burn the camp, in order to deprive his men of any other resource than that of conquest: but his real intention was only to make a signal to some fresh troops which were marching from Rome, under the command of the new general of the horse; they arrived time enough to attack the enemy, and gained a complete victory.

The Sam-  
nites de-  
feated.

439.

The consuls make themselves masters of Sora (*c*), the siege of which city had been commenced the preceding year: it was still in a condition to hold out a long time, because of its advantageous situation;

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(*b*) These were generally places whose fidelity was suspected, or that had incurred the displeasure of the republic: their condition was the hardest of any of the people of Italy.

(*c*) Sora was a town of the Volscians, in Campania, situate upon the river *Liris*, above *Fregellæ*, and still known by its ancient name. Ptolemy mentions it as a Latin town; and Juvenal, sat. 3. commends it for the goodness of its accommodations:

*Si potes avelli Circensibus, optima Soræ,*

*aut Fabrateria domus, aut Frusine paratur.*

but

but a deserter shewed the Romans a path leading to the citadel, so that the place was taken almost without resistance; and several other towns, as Aufona (*d*), Minturnæ, and Vescia (*e*), were taken in the same manner by surprize.

The Samnites defeated near Caudium.

The Samnites, being drawn into the plains of Campania, in hopes of seeing the Campanians up in arms, were cut in pieces by the consul Sulpicius, and thirty thousand of them are said to have been left dead on the spot. The Campanians are overawed by the army of C. Mænius, who was named dictator the second time.

## 440.

The Romans then were fond of creating dictators, from what motives it is uncertain; a conduct, which, as M. Rollin observes, tended, in some measure, to debase this magistracy, heretofore considered as the last resource in the most pressing emergencies of the state. The new dictator, C. Pætilius Libo, wrests Fregellæ from the Samnites, and thence proceeding to Campania, makes himself master of *Nola* (*f*), *Atina* (*g*), and *Calatia* (*h*), undergo the same fate.

This year happened an event, which shews how careful the Romans were to observe a proper decency in their religious worship. Appius Claudius, as curule ædile, having attempted to abridge the privileges of players on instruments, who attended the sacrifices and other religious ceremonies; those officers, whose number was prodigious, went into voluntary exile: but the people recalled them, annulled the ædile's decree, and granted them new privileges.

(*d*) *Aufona* was a town of the Aufones, mentioned by Livy, lib. 9. and by no other historian, *Aufona, & Minturnæ, & Vescia urbes erant*; there are no vestiges of it remaining, nor have we any account of its situation.

(*e*) *Vescia* was an ancient city of the Aufones, mentioned by Livy, lib. 9. In Byzantius's epitome it is called Βισκία πόλις Αυσόνων. Hence we have *Vescinus saltus* and *ager Vescinus* in Cic. Agrar. 2. In Hyginus's book *de limitibus* we meet with a description of *mons Vescini* above *Minturnæ*.

(*f*) *Nola* was a town of Campania, built, as some pretend, by the Chalcidenses, or as others, by the Tuscans. Here the first stand was made against Hannibal by Marcellus, and here Augustus died. It still retains its ancient name, and is famous for being the place where bells were first invented, or at least first used in churches.

(*g*) A city of the Volscians, situate on the river *Melpis*, and still called *Atina*. The second syllable is long, as appears from Virgil, *Æn.* 7.

*Tela novant Atina potens, Tiburque superbum.*

It was a *præfectura* before it became a colony under the Cæsars. Cic. pro Planc. *hic est & præfectura Atinati.*

(*h*) A city of Campania, situate near the river *Vulturnus*, now *Voltorno*, in the Applan way, between *Capua* and *Beneventum*. It is mentioned by Silius, lib. 8.

*nec parvis aberat Calatia maris.*

The inhabitants were called *Calatini*; but its present name is *Gaiarza*.



Colonies sent to Suessa, Interamna (i), Casinum (k), and the isle of Pontia (l).

441.

A war at this time was apprehended with the Hetrurians, which gave occasion to the naming of C. Sulpicius Longus to the dictatorship; but the Hetrurians kept within their own limits.

The censor, Appius Claudius, who had served the office of ædile, began about this time the famous Appian road, leading from Rome to Capua; this, afterwards, served as a model of those boasted highways, which led from Rome, and were carried through the whole Roman empire. At the same time he caused an aqueduct to be built, in order to supply the city with more wholesome water than that of the Tiber, or that drawn from wells, which they had been hitherto obliged to make use of. Appius, like his ancestors, was a steady and enterprising man; but being more desirous of power than of glory, more ambitious of a great name than of a solid reputation, he ran into several innovations, which rendered him odious. He degraded a considerable number of ancient senators, to make room for the sons of freedmen, who were intirely at his disposal. Another innovation, which the Pagan historians pretend to have been punished by the gods, was his obliging the priests of Hercules to resign their office to public slaves; last of all, he persuaded his colleague to lay down, and kept possession of the censorship during the space of five years, notwithstanding that he was detested by the greatest part of the senate.

(i) *Interamna*, now, by corruption, *Teramo*, was a town situate in the *ager Picenus*, and country of the *Prætetii*, so called *quod inter duos amnes sita*, which two rivers were the *Matrinus* and the *Vomanius*. Near the mouth of the *Matrinus* stood the city of *Castrum novum*, now *Flaviano*, and the port of *Hadria*, which gave name to the Adriatic sea, and now called *Porto di Atri*. The river *Vomanius* still retains its name, *Vomano*. It is mentioned by Silius, lib. 8. *Statque humectata Vomano—Hadria*. A little further on is the river *Aternus*, now called *Pescara*. There was another *Interamna* in Umbria.

(k) *Casinum* was a town of Campania in Italy, formerly a *municipium*, as we find by an ancient inscription in Gruterus. Some authors write the name of this place with a double *ll*, which is contrary to the authority of Livy, and all ancient MSS: *Ut se in agrum Casinatem ducat*, Liv. lib. 22. It is now called Monte Casino, famous for an ancient abbey of Benedictines.

(l) Concerning this island there are great disputes among the learned. Strabo, Ptolemy, Diodorus, have *Insula*, in the singular; Mela, Pliny, and Livy, make use of the plural, *Pontia*. Pliny expresses the situation, *adversum Formias Pontia*. Livy plainly declares it to be one island, *Volsi Pontias insulam sitam in conspectu litoris sui incluserunt*, lib. 9. Cellarius is of opinion, that there were several of those islands, the largest of which was properly called *Pontia*, and still retains the name of *Ponza*; and that the adjacent islands from thence also were sometimes named *Pontia*. In Antoninus's Itinerary we find the following passage: *insulae numero III* (or according to some copies *III*) *Pontia, a Terracina, Stadia CCC*. This island was a Roman colony, famous, under the emperors, for being the place to which persons of rank were banished.



442.

The new consuls cancel the list of senators, which had been made by Appius; this was an arbitrary proceeding, yet it met with the approbation of all honest men.

The people assembled in the comitia, assume the privilege of chusing sixteen legionary tribunes, leaving the consuls, or the dictator, to name the other eight: but this law was changed a little while after. Another regulation of greater importance was drawn up in the comitia, ordaining that the people should appoint two officers, called *duumviri*, to take upon them the care of equipping a fleet, and refitting the ships. The Romans seem to have hitherto had no other than trading vessels.

Brutus and Æmilius fight with equal success, the one against the Hetrurians, whom he obliges to raise the siege of Sutrium (*m*), a Roman colony; the other against the Samnites. The consequence of the latter victory, was the taking first of Cluvia (*n*), and then of Bovianum (*o*), an opulent city, which was given up to be plundered by the soldiers. From thence the Romans advanced to the forest of Avernus (*p*) in Campania, whither the Samnites had conveyed all their cattle, with a design to draw the enemy into an ambuscade; and, indeed, the Roman legions were very near falling into new Caudine forks. Their valour, and the thirst of plunder, extricated them out of this difficulty; and twenty thousand Samnites were left dead upon the spot.

The Samnites defeated.

443.

War with the Hetrurians.

The Roman arms did not succeed in all places alike this year. Fabius obtained two victories over the Hetrurians, in the neighbourhood of Sutrium, though they were far superior to him in number: he killed sixty thousand, and had the glory of being the first that opened a passage for the Romans through the Ciminian forest (*q*), hitherto deemed impassable; and thereby he paved the way for the conquest of Hetruria. On the other hand, the Samnites gained two

(*m*) *Sutrium* was an ancient colony of the Romans in Hetruria, called by Livy *claustra Etruriæ*. It was greatly improved by Augustus, as we find by an ancient inscription in Gruterus, where it is called *Colonia Julia Sutria*. Its situation in the *via Clodia* is described by Antoninus: *Foro Cassii Sutrium M. P. XI. Bauanas M. P. XII. Romam M. P. XXII*. It still retains the name of Sutri.

(*n*) *Cluvia* was a town of the Samnites, known only by its name in Livy, lib. 9. where he calls it *præsidium Romanum*.

(*o*) *Bovianum* was a town of the Samnites, which Livy calls *Pentrorum caput*. It was situate at the foot of the Apennine mountains, near the springs of the river *Tifernus*, now *Tiferno*, which runs into the gulph of Venice, not far from *Termini*. The Italians now call it *Boiano*.

(*p*) Virgil mentions this forest, *Æn.* 3. *Divinosque lacus, & Averna sonantia fluvii*. It is said to have been cut down by Agrippa, when he built the *portus Julius*.

(*q*) This is the *Ciminius mons.* or *faltus*, in the neighbourhood of Viterbo; here was also a lake mentioned by Virgil, *Æn.* 7. *Et Cimini cum monte lacum, lucosque Capenos*.

considerable



considerable advantages over the Romans. P. Cornelius having been entrusted with the command of a fleet, in order to make a descent upon the coast, was met by a party of the Samnites, who carried off his booty. The consul Marcius was likewise worsted in an engagement: upon hearing the news of these misfortunes, the senate chose Papirius to be appointed dictator.

444.

The republic looked upon this great general as alone sufficient to hold the reins of government during his dictatorship; in consequence of which no consuls were chosen. Fabius was continued in *Hetruria* with the title of proconsul, where he fought against the Umbrians; at that time in alliance with the *Hetrurians*, and routed them at the very first onset; after this, he obtained a victory in the neighbourhood of *Viterbo* (r), over the *Hetrurians* themselves, whom Livy mentions to have assembled a numerous army, and to have bound themselves by a sacred law. It is not well known what was meant by this sacred law; this however is certain, that it had so strong an influence on the minds of the *Hetrurians*, that not one of them gave ground, while they had to contend only with the Roman infantry. They cut the first and second line in pieces; so that the third, consisting of soldiers, called *Triarii*, were brought to the charge, and supported by the cavalry, who dismounted. At length the *Hetrurians* were obliged to fly in the utmost confusion, and the flower of their youth were cut in pieces.

Papirius has the same success against the Samnites. The battle of *Longula* (s) where he obtains a complete victory. This is the last time that Papirius (r) appeared on the stage.

445.

Fabius obtains some advantages over the Samnites, and their allies the *Marsi* (u) and *Peligni* (x). Then he marches to join his colleague Decius, who, after having obliged the *Hetrurians* to sue for a year's truce, was upon the point of coming to an engagement with the Umbrians. These people had formed a design of marching to Rome;

(r) A city of Tuscany; it was formerly called *Fanum Voltumnæ*.

(s) A town on the frontiers of the *Volsci*, of which there are no remains.

(t) He was called *Cursor* for his remarkable strength of body, and swiftness in running.

(u) The *Marsi* were a people of Italy, seated in an inland country, the *Peligni* and *Vestini* being between them and the Adriatic. On the other side the Apennines, they bordered on the countries of the *Sabini* and *Æqui*. They had only two cities, *Alba Fucensis*, so called from the lake *Fucinus*, now *lago di Celano*, near which it stood; and *Marrubium*. The former still retains the ancient name of *Alba*: but the latter is now called *Merrea*.

(x) The *Peligni* were a people of Italy, inhabiting a small tract between the countries of the *Vestini* and *Marrucini* to the north, and the Apennines to the south. Their territory now maketh the hither *Abruzzo* in the kingdom of *Naples*; their chief cities were *Corfinium*, now destroyed, and *Sulmo*, still called *Sulmona*.

which



The Umbrians defeated.

which obliged Decius to make his army advance, in order to prevent their approaching that capital: on the other hand, Fabius falls upon the enemy, and obtains a complete victory. Little or no blood was spilt in this battle; almost the whole Umbrian army laid down their arms, and were made prisoners of war.

446.

The battle of Allifæ.

War with the Salentines.

Further progress of Fabius in Samnium, where he continued to command as proconsul. He defeats the Samnites at Allifæ (y), on the banks of the Volturnus, takes their camp by capitulation, and obliges them to pass under the yoke. The allies of the Samnites are made slaves; and seven thousand of them are sold by auction. The consul Volumnius carries on the war with success against the Salentines (z), a nation situate in the farthest part of Italy; while Appian, his colleague, staid at Rome, where he busied himself, according to custom, with domestic intrigues: and it is thought that he was then employed to digest the forms of processes, *legis actiones*, in order to compose a body of jurisprudence. His secretary, Cneus Plavius, laid hold of this opportunity to take a copy of the pontifical archives, the fasti, and the abovementioned forms of processes, which he afterwards published in his ædileship. This was called the *Flavian code*, but is not come down to us.

447.

The Samnites intirely routed.

Thirty thousand Samnites are slain in battle: the consul Marcius obliges them to furnish the Roman armies with provisions for three months, to give them a year's pay, and to furnish each soldier with one habit. It has been observed, that after this consulate, the Romans always kept up the custom of carrying on war at the expence of the conquered enemy.

Livy makes mention of a third treaty concluded about this time between Rome and Carthage.

448.

The Samnites lose two battles.

The Samnites lose two bloody battles, in one of which Minucius is killed. Nothing less than such a series of successes could have humbled those proud enemies of Rome, who, though always defeated, were never conquered, but seemed to derive new strength from their losses.

449.

They submit, and are admitted to a renewal of their alliance with the republic, as before the war.

(y) *Allifæ* was a town of Campania, on the left bank of the Volturnus, and still called *Alif*. Silius, lib. 8. has it in the singular number,

*Allifæ, & Glanio contentæ semper Accuræ.*

(z) The *Salentini* inhabited the eastern part of Italy over against Epirus; their chief cities were *Tarentum*, *Brundisium*, and *Hydrunt*.



The consuls receive orders to march against the Æqui, and to cha- The Æqui  
 sise them for having assisted the Samnites during the war; upon their subdued.  
 approach, the enemy's army is dispersed. The Roman generals having  
 divided their forces, in order to begin different sieges, took and destroy-  
 ed forty one towns in fifty days. By these devastations, the whole nation  
 of the Æqui was almost exterminated. The Marrucini (a), Marfi, Pe-  
 ligni, and Frentani (b) send deputies to Rome to sue for peace, which  
 is granted them.

This year Fabius, whom we have seen honoured with so many  
 victories, was censor. In imitation of king Servius Tullius, he re-  
 incorporated into the four city tribes, the freedmen, and the meanest  
 of the populace, who had been dispersed among all the tribes, where  
 they constantly formed a plurality of votes. This reformation was so  
 agreeable to the republic, that Fabius acquired thereby the surname of  
*Maximus*, which was transmitted to his descendants.

He is said also to have instituted the solemn review of the Roman  
 knights, which was made every year, on the fifteenth of July, by  
 the censors. These same knights had been long entrusted with the  
 care of celebrating the *Lupercalia* (c), a ludicrous and indecent  
 festival.

450.

A colony of four thousand men is sent to Sora, and another of six  
 thousand to Alba (d), a town situated in the country of the Marfi.

451.

This same town of Alba overawed the whole territory of the Æqui,  
 who bore it so impatiently, that they had recourse again to arms.  
 Junius Brutus being appointed dictator, marches against these people,  
 and subdues them in eight days.

(a) The *Marrucini* were a people of Italy, inhabiting a small tract of country be-  
 tween the *Vestini* and the *Peligni*; they had but one city, *Teate*, now *Chieti*. Silius,  
 lib. 8, calls it *Magnumque Teate*.

(b) The *Frentani* inhabited the *Frentana regio*, a country of Italy, on the sea coast  
 next to the *Marrucini*, betwixt the rivers *Tifernus* and *Aternus* in hither *Abruzzo*.  
 It took its name from the river *Frento*, now *Fortore*.

(c) The *Lupercalia* were a festival established by Evander, in honour of Pan, the  
 god of shepherds, called in Greek *λύκαιος*, from *λύκος*, a wolf, in Latin *lupus*, because  
 his chief employment was to protect the sheep against those beasts: it was celebrated  
 the fifteenth day before the calends of March. Some think with Plutarch, that the  
*Lupercalia* were instituted in honour of the wolf, that suckled Romulus and Remus.  
 The *Luperci* were the most ancient order of priests: there were two companies of them,  
 the *Fabiani* and the *Quintiliani*, so called from two of their chief priests; one was  
 for Romulus, and the other for Remus. Dio mentions a third, called *Julii*, insti-  
 tuted in honour of Julius Cæsar. The day of the celebration of their festival was an-  
 ciently named *Februaca*, at which time they run naked about the streets, lashing all  
 they met in their procession.

(d) Situate on the lake *Fucinus*, whence it was called *Alba Fucensis* or *Fucentina*;  
 and the inhabitants were stiled *Albanenses*. It still retains its old name.

Brutus,



Brutus, during his dictatorship, performed the ceremony of consecrating the temple of *health*, which he had built on the *mons Quirinalis*, in consequence of a vow.

352.

War with  
the Marſi  
and Hetru-  
rians.

War with the Marſi and the Hetrurians, who are ſoon reduced by Fabius Maximus and Valerius Corvus: theſe two were ſucceſſively created dictators, and continued in office the whole year.

453.

Plebeian  
pontifices.

Two tribunes of the people, both of the name of Ogulnius, inſiſt on the plebeians being admitted to the pontificate, and into the college of Augurs; the only two offices remaining, which the people did not ſhare with the patricians. This conteſt between the two orders was carried on with a warmth proportioned to the importance of the object. Appius Claudius was at the head of the patricians, and Decius Muſ was a zealous defender of the plebeians; but the latter prevailed. The people convened in tribes, admit the Ogulnian law, which added four new pontifices to the four of ancient creation, and five new augurs to the former four. The firſt plebeian pontifices, were Decius Muſ, Sempronius Sophus, C. Marcius Rutilus, and M. Livius Dent: the firſt augurs were C. Genucius, P. Ælius Pætus, M. Minucius Feſſus, C. Marcius, and T. Publilius: this regulation continued till the dictatorship of Sylla.

Valerius Corvus, at that time in his fifth conſulate, revived the law which allowed of appeals to the people; a law made by Valerius Publicola, one of his anceſtors, reſtored afterwards by another Valerius, and inſenſibly grown obſolete. It is obſervable, that this law denounced no puniſhment againſt the tranſgreſſors; it only mentioned, that *to act otherwiſe, would be acting wrong*. Where is the man, ſays Livy, that would make ſuch a menace now in earneſt?

The Æqui begin to raiſe new diſturbances.

454.

The conſul Fulvius makes himſelf maſter of Nequinum, afterwards called Narnia (e), a town in Umbria, the ſiege of which had been undertaken the preceding year. The Romans had no other war upon their hands at that time. The celebrated Fabius, having heard they were going to chuſe him conſul, ſends to deſire the centuries to reſerve their votes for another occaſion, when there would be more glory to acquire.

The inhabitants of Picenum (f) conclude an alliance with the re-

(e) It is ſo called from the river *Nar*, that runs by it; and it ſtill retains the name of Narni. Silius deſcribes its ſituation, which is upon a rock,

*Hiſpellum, & duro monti per ſaxa recumbens*—Narnia, lib. 8.

(f) Picenum was a diſtrict of Italy, ſituate between the *Æſis* and the *Alernus*, now *Pescara*, extending from the Adriatic to the Apennines, where it joined Umbria; and beyond them, reaching to the country of the Sabini. It now includes the further Abruzzo, with ſome part of the marquiſate of Ancona,



public. The Hetrurians had taken up arms, without waiting for the expiration of the truce concluded with the republic; the consul Manlius received orders to chastise them, but being killed by a fall from his horse, Valerius Corvus was appointed to succeed him. The enemy not daring to meet him in the field, he lays waste their whole country. After this expedition, Valerius retired from business: he had been raised one and twenty times to curule offices, an extraordinary honour which no Roman ever enjoyed before or after him; and he died upwards of a hundred years old.

Curius Dentatus, tribune of the people, obliges the senate to confirm the custom of always joining a plebeian with a patrician in the consulate.

Two tribes are added to the former ones, by which means they increase to thirty three.

455.

Enlvius defeats the Hetrurians, and afterwards the Samnites, who had broke with Rome, by waging war against the Lucanians, her allies. The battle against the Samnites was fought in the neighbourhood of Bovianum, which fell a cheap prize to the conqueror, and soon after *Ausidena* (g) was also taken. Livy gives the glory of the Hetrurian expedition to the consul Scipio; but he is contradicted by the *Fasti Capitolini*.

The Hetrurians and Samnites defeated.

A colony is sent to *Carfulæ* (h), among the *Æqui*. Fabius being chosen consul against his will the fourth time, desires the people to give him Decius Mus for his colleague, and obtains his request without difficulty.

456.

The republic stood in need of these two great men, being at the eve of a war with the two most potent nations in her neighbourhood, that were making extraordinary preparations for this campaign: but the Hetrurians having come to a resolution to ask for peace, the whole force of the republic was directed against the Samnites. The Apulians would have joined the latter before they came to an engagement, if the consul Decius, who was encamped in the neighbourhood of Maleventum (i), (afterwards called Beneventum) had not attacked their army, and put them to flight: so that he may be said to have greatly contributed to the victory which Fabius obtained over the Samnites. The two consular armies ravage Samnium five months together. At

The Samnites defeated.

(g) *Ausidena* was a town of the Samnites, now *Alfidena*, in the hither Abruzzo. It stood on the river *Sagrus*, now *Il Sargro*, which, according to Strabo, lib. 5. divides the Frentani from the Peligni, ὁ Σαγρὸς ποταμὸς ὁρίζων τὴν Φρεντάνων ἀπὸ τῶν Πελιγνῶν.

(h) *Carfulæ* was a town of Italy, between Tuder and Spoletium, now Todi and Spoleto, nine miles from Narnia, and twenty one from Mevania, now Bevagna, as Holstenius has calculated. Strabo calls it *Kαρφύλαι*. It is now in ruins.

(i) It was built by Diomedes; the name of *Maleventum*, as Procopius, lib. 1. Goth, observes, was owing to the unwholesome winds that blow there; upon its being made a Roman colony, it changed its name for that of Beneventum, which it still retains.



their return, they are continued in command six months, with the title of proconsuls.

457.

Fabius spends the six months of his proconsulship in awing the Lucanians, who had taken up arms, and were ready to join the Samnites. Decius, assisted by the consul Volumnius, takes from the Samnites the important cities of Murgantia (*k*), Romulea (*l*), and Ferentinum, where he seizes on a considerable booty. The terror of the Roman arms makes the Samnites fly; they take shelter among the Hetrurians, and raise another storm against the republic. Appius enters Hetruria at the head of two legions, besides two thousand auxiliaries; and in the beginning meets with some repulses.

The Samnites and Hetrurians defeated.

His colleague having joined him with two fresh legions, they defeat the confederates: Volumnius returns to his own province, in order to oppose the Samnites, who, contrary to all expectation, had raised a new army, and were ravaging Campania: but he cuts them in pieces, and recovers all the spoil they had taken. This victory raised the spirits of the senate, who had been alarmed at a report, that while the Samnites were acting in Campania, the confederates would again take up arms in Hetruria: that the Umbrians were going to break with Rome; and that the Gauls were strongly solicited to declare war against the republic. At Rome all civil affairs were suspended, nor did the suspension cease, till the news of Volumnius's last victory; and then public prayers were ordained in honour to this general.

The republic sends two colonies to cover Campania, one to the mouth of the Liris, which was called Minturnæ; the other to a town known by the name of Sinope, which was said to have been built by the Greeks, and then changed its name to that of Sinuessæ. Livy, as M. Rollin observes, making mention of these two cities long before, gives them these very names which they did not bear till a great while after.

Aula Virginia, wife of the consul Volumnius, erects a temple to *plebeian chastity*, in imitation of the sanctuary long before established at Rome in honour of *patrician chastity*, where the wives of the nobility alone had a right to enter, and to perform the function of priestesses.

458.

War with the Hetrurians, Samnites, Umbrians, and Gauls.  
Battle of Sentinum.

Certain advice being received, of a confederacy among the Hetrurians, the Samnites, the Umbrians, and the Gauls; the republic conferred the consulate on Q. Fabius and Decius Mus, her two ablest generals. The battle of Sentinum (*m*), in Umbria, where the Ro-

(*k*) *Murgantia* was a city of Samnium, situate on the river Tamara, near the Apennine. Livy calls it *valida urbs*; but there are no remains of it at present.

(*l*) *Romulea* in Antoninus's Itinerary is also called *Subromula*; but of neither this town, nor of Ferentinum, are there any vestiges remaining.

(*m*) It is situate at the foot of the Apennine, not far from *Helvillum*, and still retains the name of *Sentina*. Livy mentions in *Sentinati agro*.



mans had only to deal with the Gauls and the Samnites; for the Etrurians and Umbrians were employed against the *proprators* Fulvius and Posthumius, who were making a diversion in Etruria, in pursuance of Fabius's order: yet the enemy's army was greatly superior to the Romans. The consul Decius, seeing the left wing give way, where he commanded against the Gauls, devotes himself to death, in imitation of his father; and his death turned the fortune of the day. In the right wing, Fabius, as well by his prudence as by his valour, gained the whole advantage: knowing that the Samnites were formidable only at the first onset, he received them with all the coolness becoming his age and experience; and when he perceived that they had spent their strength, he ordered his troops, which were almost fresh, to attack the enemy briskly; this they accordingly did, and obtained an easy victory. It is reckoned, that five and twenty thousand of the confederates were left dead on the spot, and eight thousand taken prisoners: among the former was Egnatius, general of the Samnites: the Romans, on their side, lost only nine thousand two hundred men. This is looked upon as the most signal victory hitherto obtained by the Romans. Fabius, the conqueror of four the most formidable nations in Italy, had not yet ended this glorious campaign; while he was triumphing at Rome, the Etrurians raised a new army, with the assistance of the Perusini (n). He leads his troops again to Etruria, and gains another victory: thus ended the last consulate of this hero, who did not cease to conquer, till age had disabled him from bearing arms.

Signal victory over the Samnites and Gauls.

The Etrurians defeated.

In Samnium, Volumnius was left to command the army, with the title of proconsul: having driven the enemy to the foot of mount Tifernus (o), he defeated them in a pitched battle. This was only a prelude to a much greater victory; the Samnites having divided themselves into two bodies, came and ravaged the territories of the Roman allies. Appius Claudius, this year's prætor, put himself at the head of the army, which had been commanded by Decius; and he on one side, with Volumnius on the other, hemmed the enemy in so close, that they were obliged to unite their whole force in the *Campi Stellates*; this is a plain situated in Campania, between the Volturnus and the Savo (p), where it forms a kind of valley surrounded with mountains. There they fought a most bloody battle; but the Romans at length prevailed, having killed sixteen thousand three hundred of the enemy, and taken two thousand seven hundred prisoners.

The Samnites defeated.

The Samnites again defeated.

(n) The *Perusini* were the inhabitants of *Perusia*, now *Perugia*, a city of *Etruria*, in the midway between Rome and Florence. Livy calls it *Urbs Validissima*, lib. 10. Near it was the famous lake *Trasimenus*, so fatal to the Romans, in the second Punic war.

(o) It seems there was a mountain, a town, and a river that all went by this name. Pliny, lib. 13. mentions *Tifernus amnis*; Livy, lib. 10. take notice that the Samnites were driven in *Tifernum montem*; and lib. 9. he says, *quum Tifernum Posthumius petisset, ad Tifernum pugnatum*, where he means a town.

(p) Now called *Saone*.



At Rome, Fabius Gurges, curule ædile, son of the great Fabius, caused several women, who had been convicted of adultery, to be fined by a decree of the people; and with the money he erected a temple to Venus.

459.

The Samnites had now waged war with the Romans these forty years, and always to their disadvantage; yet they were not discouraged. But the historian who relates their transactions, and the reader, who constantly finds the same object before him, must surely be tired. For, as Livy observes, *Quinam sit ille, quem non pigeat longinquitatis bellorum scribendo legendoque, quæ gerentes non fatigaverunt?* (Lib. 10. §. 31.)

The Samnites twice defeated.

The two consuls are ordered to penetrate into Samnium; but Posthumius falling sick, Attilius takes the command of the army upon himself; and is very near being surprized in his camp, on the confines of Campania. His colleague is dispatched with another army to his assistance; upon which the enemy retire with precipitation, and are pursued by the consuls. Posthumius takes Milonia (q) by storm, and possesses himself of Triventum (r), which the enemy had abandoned, together with the neighbouring country. Perceiving there was no further glory to be acquired in those parts, he marched into Hetruria, and compelled the lucumonies of Volsinii, Perugia, and Aretium (s), to sue for peace: but they obtained only a truce of forty years. On the other hand, Attilius gains two victories over the Samnites, and obliges them to pass under the yoke. Before he set out upon this expedition, Volumnius had performed the dedication of the temple of Victory, which was built to fulfil a vow.

By the list of the people taken this year, it appeared that there were two hundred and seventy thousand citizens able to bear arms. This lustrum was followed by a new list of senators, drawn up by the censors. Q. Fabius Maximus, that illustrious old man, was placed at their head, with the title of *prince of the senate*. Fabius Ambullus, his father, had enjoyed the same honour, and it was afterwards conferred on his son Fabius Gurges; which historians mention as a very extraordinary distinction. The title of *prince of the senate* was bestowed upon that person, whom the censors ranked first in the list of senators: it was not an honour for life; but, in all probability, used to be granted at every new election of censors.

(q) The learned are not agreed whether this town was in Samnium or in the country of the Marfi. There are no vestiges of it remaining.

(r) *Triventum* or *Triuentium* and *Treventum* was a town of the Samnites, now called *Trivento*, situate on the river *Trinius*, now *Trigno*, which Pliny, lib. 3. calls *flumen portuosum*. The same author calls the inhabitants *Treventinates*.

(s) In ancient inscriptions we always find it with rr, Arretium. It was a city of Hetruria, now called *Arezzo*, situate near the rivers Arnus and Clanis. Silius mentions it, lib. 5.

*Arreti muros, Coriti nunc diruat arcem.*



460.

Battle of Aquilonia (t), fought against the Samnites by L. Papirius Cursor, heir to the name and valour of the great Papirius. The Romans proved victorious, to their very great honour. They had to deal with upwards of forty thousand Samnites, one half of whom had devoted themselves to Jupiter, with horrid imprecations, and most awful ceremonies. This part of the Samnite army, was called the *legio linteata*, or the *linen legion*, because of the canopy, or covering of linen in the camp, where they bound themselves by oath. There the priest had collected every thing capable of heightening that solemn terror, with which the minds of people are seized in performing the rites of religion: such as altars smoking with incense, reeking with blood, and covered with yet trembling victims: centurions ranged in order, in profound silence, and with drawn swords: a pontif, venerable by his age and garb, who administered to the soldiers the most solemn oath, whereby they desired that the curses of the gods might fall upon them, their family, and their whole race, if they turned their backs in battle, or if they did not instantly kill those who should attempt to fly. Every one that hesitated to pronounce these horrid imprecations, was immediately stabbed; and his carcass being tumbled pell-mell at the foot of the altar, served to increase the horror of the lugubrious ceremony. To those men who had thus devoted themselves, they gave magnificent bucklers, and helmets adorned with stately crests, that they might be distinguished from the rest, which was the very thing that occasioned the ruin of the Samnites. Papirius being informed by deserters, of what had passed in the enemy's camp, fell with his whole force on that remarkable corps, and as soon as he obliged them to give way, the rest were easily put to flight. The taking of Aquilonia, was a consequence of this victory. At the same time, the consul Carvilius stormed the important city of Cominium (u), the siege of which had been undertaken at the opening of the campaign. These two cities were delivered up to be plundered by the soldiers.

The consuls having afterwards separated their forces in order to form sieges, advice was brought that the Etrurians threatened once more to invade the republic, and had been joined by the Falisci, the ancient allies of Rome. This was a new scene of glory to Carvilius, to whose lot it fell to have the conduct of the Etrurian war. Papirius performs the dedication of a new temple, which his father had vowed to the god Quirinus. Upon this temple was fixed a sun-dial (x), the first sun-dial at Rome.

(t) A city of the *Hirpini* in Italy, upon the borders of Apulia, near the river *Aufidus*, and now called *La Cedeigna*. Pliny calls the inhabitants *Aquiloni*, which Cluverius takes to be an abbreviation for *Aquilonienses*.

(u) Some place this city in Samnium, but it more properly belongs to the country of Hirpini, because Livy places it near to Aquilonia.

(x) Before this time, the Romans marked only the rising and setting of the sun; but latterly, they observed also the hour of noon, by proclaiming it was mid-day, when



first that had been ever seen at Rome. Carvilius also built the temple of Fortune. The curule ædiles made a law, which permitted the citizens, that had been honoured with military crowns, to be present at the public shows with this mark of distinction on their heads; and to conquerors, to appear on the same occasions with palms in their hands.

461.

Fabius Gurges defeated by the Samnites.

The Samnites defeated.

This year did not prove so favourable to the republic: the plague raged with such violence at Rome, that her enemies were encouraged to commit new hostilities; when it quickly appeared that she wanted generals capable of maintaining the glory of the preceding consuls. Indeed Brutus Scæva, with the assistance of Carvilius, who had been appointed his lieutenant, did pretty well against the Hetrurians and the Falisci: but on the other hand, Fabius Gurges, having undertaken to give battle to the Samnites before all his troops were assembled, received a considerable check: so that he would have been deprived of the command of the army, if the celebrated Fabius had not offered to be lieutenant to his own son. This gave a new turn to affairs; the Samnites were defeated, and lost upwards of twenty thousand men. Fortune was not satisfied that the young Fabius should be indebted to his father for restoring his reputation; the old man had also the happiness to save his son's life in the engagement.

Posthumius Megellus, being appointed to preside at the comitia, in quality of interrex, because of the absence of the consuls, got himself to be elected to the consulate: there had never been an instance of so open a violation of the laws, except in the case of the audacious Appius Claudius.

462.

Posthumius incurs the hatred of the senate and the people by his tyrannical government: they refuse him triumphal honours, though he had taken two important cities, Cominium and Venusium (\*), from the Samnites. A considerable colony was sent to this last town; but the management of it was entrusted to commissaries, contrary to the usual custom of granting this honour to the general, who had conquered the place. On the contrary, Fabius Gurges, who remained in Samnium with the title of proconsul, returns triumphant to Rome, attended by his father, who had acted as his lieutenant. No doubt but this triumph was granted as much to honour the father's virtue, as the

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when the sun shone between the *rostra* and the house appointed for the reception of ambassadors; in consequence of the invention of the clepsydra, or water-clock, which followed soon after, they were enabled to compute the hours of the night.

(\*) A city of Apulia, the birth place of Horace the poet, in the road to Tarentum and Hydrus. Its being on the frontiers of Lucania, made some people place it in that province, which Horace alludes to, lib. 2. sat. 1.

*sequor hunc, Lucanus an Appulus, anceps,  
Nam Venusinus arat finem sub utrumque colonus.*

It was also called *Venusia*; but the modern name is *Vesofa*.

son's



son's bravery. The famous Pontius Herennius, general of the Samnites, taken in the last battle, is beheaded at Rome: it seems that his only crime was his having had the glory to make the Roman army pass under the yoke at the Caudine forks. A temple is erected in the island of the Tiber to the god Æsculapius, because of the arrival of the serpent Temple of Æsculapius. from Epidaurus, which had been sent for to Rome the beginning of this year, by the advice of the interpreters of the Sibylline books. This famous serpent was nothing more than a large snake, which the priests of the temple of Æsculapius, at Epidaurus in Peloponnesus, had taken care to tame, and which they had taught to hide itself under the pedestal of the statue of this god of health. A great many marvellous things were told of the above serpent, which the people readily believed, and they even persuaded themselves that they were indebted to him for the cessation of the pestilence. " But this was " not the first time, says father Catrou, that snakes had been taken " out of the temple of Epidaurus: already had the Sicyonians re- " moved one to their town in a chariot; and a woman, called Ni- " cagora, drove it. Thus did the knavery of the Greeks furnish " Æsculapius's to those people, who would suffer themselves to be " imposed upon; and thus did they impose upon the Romans."

463.

Posthumius being brought to a trial by two tribunes of the people, is condemned to pay a considerable fine. The principal crime alleged against him, was his having employed two thousand legionary soldiers to grub up his lands, before he made them set out upon the expedition against Samnium.

The two consuls meet with great success against the Samnites. Alliance Curius is empowered to regulate the conditions of peace, which the with the Samnites. were at length obliged to sue for. The consul Curius was one of those Romans, whose contempt of riches reflects such lustre on the early ages of the republic. The Samnite ambassadors found him sitting on a poor wooden seat near the fire, like a peasant, and dressing a few roots for his dinner. The occasion induced them to offer him rich presents, in order to obtain an advantageous composition: all the answer he made them, was, *that he did not chuse to have gold himself, but to command those that had plenty of it.* Such was at that time the standing character of the Roman citizens, as we may judge by a speech concerning them, attributed to Pontius. *Were the Romans to be swayed by interest,* said this Samnite general, *I should long since have put a stop to the rapidity of their conquests.*

The reduction of the Sabines soon followed the peace concluded. The Sabine with the Samnites. Curius had also the glory of it, and received, the reduced. same year, the honour of two triumphs, which no general before him had ever enjoyed. The Sabines obtained the privilege of Roman citizenship, but without the right of suffrage.



464.

A new tribunal is erected at Rome, to take cognizance of criminal causes. The three officers in this commission, were to be elected yearly at the comitia by tribes. They were stiled *triumviri capitales*; because they were charged with the care of executing the laws against criminals: from their sentence lay no appeal; but they could inflict no other than pecuniary fines.

This year three cities received those sorts of garrisons, which the Romans stiled colonies; Castrum (y), a city in Picenum; Adria, which is said to have given name to the Adriatic; and Sena (z), situate in the territory of the Galli Senones.

At this time there was a census of the people in Rome, when the number of citizens, able to bear arms, amounted to two hundred and seventy three thousand.

465.

The debtors  
murmur  
against the  
usurers.

Domestic broils on the account of debtors. They had taken rise towards the expiration of the last consulate; but they grew to an excessive height under this, in consequence of an attempt, made by a patrician of the name of Plotius, upon the chastity of young Veturius, son of the consul of the same name. This man kept Veturius in servitude, till he could discharge, by his labour, a sum borrowed at very high interest, to pay the expences of his father's funeral. One day Veturius appeared in the forum, when uncovering his back and breast, he shewed the people his body all torn with stripes, and stained with blood. So moving a scene threw the spectators into the utmost rage. We have already had occasion to observe, that peace with foreign enemies was ever productive of intestine broils at Rome, and that the principal revolutions of this city had their rise from the love of chastity: the same reflexions offer themselves here again.

466.

Secession of  
the people.

Secession of the people to the Janiculum. They were greatly incensed, that after sending Plotius to prison, the senate had contented themselves with setting those at liberty, who had been confined for debt, without reviving the law made on the like occasion, which prohibited the reducing of insolvent debtors to slavery; a law superseded by the authority of the patricians. Q. Hortensius, being appointed dictator, to appease these troubles, draws up two laws in favour of the people; but they were only a revival of those made in 414 of Rome, and which, as we have just now mentioned, had been disregarded by the patricians. These were, first, that every member of the commonwealth should be equally bound to observe the decrees made by the ple-

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(y) Concerning *Castrum* and *Adria*, see note (i), p. 155.

(z) *Sena* or *Senogallia*, now *Sinigaglia*, a town of Umbria on the river *Misus*, now *Nigola*. It is said to have been built by the Galli Senones, a people of the ancient race of the Celts, from whom it hath its name.



beian assemblies ; the second, proposed by the tribune Manius, that the senate should previously give their approbation and consent to all laws that were to be made at the assemblies of the people.

Death of Hortensius. The republic never as yet had been so unfortunate as to see a dictator die before the expiration of his office. In his room was chosen Q. Fabius Maximus, who, at a very advanced age, was still at the head of the senate. He published two laws, which evidently threw the balance of power into the hands of the plebeians. The people being satisfied, return to Rome, without making any further demands in regard to creditors.

467, 468.

These two years the peace of the republic was neither interrupted by intestine divisions, nor by foreign wars.

469.

This calm was quickly succeeded by a violent storm. The Senones, War with who had laid quiet ever since their defeat, where Decius so generously the Senones, devoted himself to death, were now engaged in the siege of Aretium, a city of Etruria, under the protection of the Romans. Lucius, supposed to have been the consul L. Cæcilius Metellus, was dispatched with an army to the assistance of the Aretini; but happened to be killed in an engagement with the enemy, and thirteen thousand Romans were left dead on the spot. At the same time, news came that the deputies of the republic to the Gauls had been inhumanly massacred. In this conjuncture, the command of the army properly belonged to Servilius, the other consul; but as he was then employed against the Lucanians, the republic had recourse to the famous Curius Dentatus. This general sets out with fresh levies, and taking advantage of the absence of the Senones, who lay before Aretium, he enters their country, and lays it waste with fire and sword. Some authors make this expedition a year later, and attribute it to the consul Dolabella.

470.

The Senones raise the siege of Aretium, and march strait to Rome, The Senones with sanguine expectations of taking that capital, as their ancestors intirely de- had formerly done after setting out from Clusium. But they met feated. with a very different reception; for the consul Domitius gave them a total overthrow. The Boii (a), another branch of the Gauls, having joined the remainder of the Senones and the Etrurians, whom they had pressed to take up arms, are overthrown on the banks of the *Vadimonis lacus* (b), in Etruria, by the consul Dolabella. These same people were defeated a second time the next year; so that there scarce

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(a) A people of Celtic Gaul, who settled in that part of Gallia Cisalpina, now called *Romandiola* or *Romagna*; their capital town was *Bononia*, now *Bologna*.

(b) Now called *Lago di Bassanello* or *Bassano*; it is celebrated by the two Plinies, and by Seneca, for its floating islands.

remained



remained the least vestige of the name of the Senones, a nation not long before so powerful, and formidable even to the Romans themselves.

471.

Confederate  
army of  
Samnites,  
&c. defeated.

The Samnites having revolted once more, joined the Lucanians and Brutians, in order to lay siege to Thurium (c), formerly Sybaris, a Greek city, situate on the gulf of Tarentum, and in alliance with the Romans. The latter had already defended it against the attempts of the Lucanians, and now they did it a second time with the same success. Fabricius beats the confederate army under the walls of the town, and scales their camp. Such an enterprize would have been very difficult, if the able consul had not made use of an artifice to make the Romans believe that Mars, the god of war, had come to their assistance.

War with  
the Taren-  
tines, and  
king Pyr-  
rhus.

The Tarentines, alarmed to see the Romans so near them, seize on a very bad pretence, to throw off the mask, and to break with the republic. Those effeminate people being assembled, as usual, at some public shows that were exhibited at a magnificent theatre near the port, suddenly there appeared ten Roman galleys, which put in for refreshments. The Tarentines, having long conceived a secret enmity against Rome, imagined, or pretended to imagine, that these galleys were come with an ill design. Hence they fell upon the Roman fleet, sunk four of the vessels, and took a fifth; the rest escaped, and carried the news of this treatment to Rome. Transported by the same fury, the Tarentines laid siege to Thurium, and made themselves masters of that city.

All the accounts recorded by fame, concerning the luxury and debauchery of the Tarentines, seem to have been evidently confirmed by their behaviour to the Feciales, whom the Romans sent to demand satisfaction for the insult offered to the republic and her allies. The Roman ambassadors were introduced to the theatre; where, crowned with garlands, surrounded with prostitute women, and intoxicated with wine, the inhabitants of Tarentum used generally to hold their assemblies, and to give audience. This assembly was remarkable for such members, as Philocharis, author of the hostility committed against the Romans, who, by his debauched life, had merited the surname of *Thais*, a famous courtesan; and Philonides, an infamous buffoon, who had carried his insolence so far as to urinate upon the robe of L. Posthumius Megellus, a person honoured with several consulates, and head of the deputation. This shameful action, committed before the whole multitude, was applauded by a shout of universal joy,

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(c) This town was called *Thurium*, *Tburia*, and *Tburii* in the plural. *Sybaris* being sunk in luxury, was destroyed by the Crotonienses; but it was rebuilt by the Athenians, and some other Greeks, not exactly upon the same spot, but very near, and took its second name from a spring in that place, called *Θυρία*. Coins struck here are not very uncommon, with the word *ΘΥΡΙΩΝ*. This town now lies in ruins, unless a village, called *La torre Brodegnetto*, hath arisen from its ashes.



and by immoderate laughter. *Laugh on*, said the prudent old man, *your laughter will be soon changed into tears; your blood must wash and purify this garment.* The ambassadors withdrew, without receiving any other answer, but loud shouts and contumelies.

472.

Under any other circumstances, the Romans would not have hesitated a moment to demand satisfaction for so base an affront; but at that time the republic had a multitude of enemies upon her hands; and it might have been dangerous to increase their number. The affair was debated several days in the senate, without coming to any resolution, the votes being equally divided. The decision was therefore referred to the people, who unanimously declared for war. Æmilius, who had already begun his march into Samnium, received a countermand, and was sent against the Tarentines, over whom he obtained a victory, before the arrival of Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, whom they had invited to their assistance.

Marcus triumphs over the Hetrurians.

473.

Pyrrhus lands at Tarentum, after having been tost in a violent storm: for the natural restlessness, and extreme ambition of this prince, would not permit him to defer his embarkation to the spring. He was descended from Achilles, related to Alexander of Epirus, and a great admirer of Alexander of Macedon, whom he would have perfectly resembled, had his valour been joined to more judgment. Undoubtedly it would have been better for him, had he followed the counsel of his friend Cyneas, or not trusted too much to the ambiguous answer of the oracle of Delphi. The beautiful saying of Cyneas, on this occasion, is well known. Pyrrhus, having one day communicated to him the vast projects which he had already formed in his imagination, and which were no less than to subdue all Italy, Sicily, Carthage, and Greece; he added further: *then, my friend, we'll laugh, and enjoy ourselves: but, Sir*, answered Cyneas, *what hinders you from laughing and enjoying yourself at present?* Every body must have heard of the ambiguous answer, which, if we believe Ennius, was made to Pyrrhus, upon consulting the oracle of Delphi in regard to his Italian expedition: *Aie te, Æacida, Romanos vincere posse.* These amphibological answers were usually uttered by oracles, and we may easily guess for what reason.

Battle of Heraclea (d), where the king of Epirus had the advantage over the consul Lævinus, and remained master of the field of battle.

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(d) *Heraclea* was a town of Magna Græcia, in Italy, near the mouth of the river *Acis*, on the right bank, built, as Strabo thinks, by the Tarentines; and Livy calls it *Tarentinorum colonia*, lib. 8. This place is now in ruins, and called *Policore*. Three miles from hence stood the town of *Siris*, a Trojan colony, at the mouth of a river of the same name; it was formerly the *navis*, or *navale Heracleotarum*.

This



This prince had some elephants in his army, that had been trained to war: the very sight, the smell, and the strange noise of those animals, frightened the Roman horses, and threw their army into great confusion. The battle was bloody, and the number of slain was almost equal on both sides. After the action, Pyrrhus was heard to say, *Alas! if I gain such another, I shall be obliged to return to Epirus almost alone.* For he had lost thirteen thousand men, which was one half of his army. Having been joined by the Samnites, Lucanians, and Messapians (e), he intended to employ them in taking Naples and Capua, and afterwards to lay siege to Rome. But he was disappointed. The consul Lævinus, with a reinforcement of two legions, had entered Capua; and the keeping of these troops in that neighbourhood, proved a check to the Neapolitans. Pyrrhus, however, advanced as far as Præneste; there from the top of an hill, he saw the city of Rome, and gave up all hopes of being able to take it.

Upon his return to Tarentum, he received an embassy from the senate, to treat of ransoming the prisoners: the high opinion he had conceived of the Romans, was greatly increased on this occasion. Neither caresses, menaces, rich presents, nor even an offer of the fourth part of Epirus, could corrupt the integrity of Fabricius, whom Pyrrhus tempted to betray the republic. Rome at that time could boast of several great men; such as the Fabricius's, the Curius Dentatus's, the Coruncanius's, who were her firm support in those tempestuous times. These great men were plebeians; an order that in general furnished the greatest number of extraordinary men, because having less opulence, they had preserved their frugality and temperance, the source of so many other great virtues. Pyrrhus delivers up two hundred prisoners without ransom, and deputed Cyneas to make proposals of peace to the senate, which are rejected: they acquaint the ambassador, that they will enter into no treaty of peace with his master, till he withdrew from Italy. “The Romans, says M. de Montesquieu, would never make peace, but when they were victorious: and, indeed, of what use would it be to conclude an ignominious treaty with one nation, in order to attack another? From this principle, they used always to rise in their demands, in proportion to their ill success; by which means, they surprised their conquerors, and laid themselves under a stronger necessity of coming off victorious.”

The consul Coruncanius, and the proconsul Æmilius, triumph, one over the Hetrurians, who from that time were never able to wage war with the republic in a national body; and the other over the Salentines, who had concluded an alliance with Tarentum. The great levies made this year, in order to set three armies on foot, obliged the republic, for the first time, to enlist that class of citizens, who

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(e) The Messapians inhabited the peninsula of Calabria or Iapygia, viz. that part of Italy now called the province of Otranto.



composed the last century, and were called *Proletarii*, because they were looked upon as incapable of any other employment than that of peopling the state. In the list taken this year, they reckoned seventy eight thousand two hundred and twenty two citizens, fit to bear arms; and this lustrum was closed by a plebeian censor, an honour reserved for patricians, ever since the plebeians had been admitted to share the office of censors, which was sixty eight years.

474.

During the winter, Pyrrhus is said to have formed a design of throwing a bridge over the sea, between Hydruntum (*f*), and Apollonia (*g*), in order to facilitate the passage of his troops from Epirus into Italy. A scheme of this nature is sufficient to characterize this prince, and to shew the fertility of his brain, in regard to chimerical projects.

The second battle with king Pyrrhus near Asculum (*h*), in Apulia. Battle of The success was so doubtful, that the accounts of historians are different, and even contradictory to each other. All that we know for certain, is, that the slaughter was very great in both armies, since neither the Romans, nor Epirotes, undertook anything further the remainder of this year. In this engagement was killed the consul P. Decius, a name already celebrated by the devotement of his father and grandfather, whose example he followed on this occasion, according to Cicero. if we can give credit to another account, the devotement of this consul was so much the more glorious, as Pyrrhus had acquainted him, that if he intended to devote himself, he should find the Epirotes upon their guard, not to kill him, but to take him alive, and put him to the most cruel tortures.

In this battle of Asculum, the Romans, in imitation of the Gauls, began to make use of chariots, armed with long points of iron in the shape of forks, and filled with soldiers carrying fire brands, which they were to throw at the elephants, in order to frighten them, and to set fire to the wooden towers upon their backs.

475.

The king of Epirus, after leaving a garrison at Tarentum, sets sail for Sicily, in order to assist the Syracusians, who were attacked by the Carthaginians.

(*f*) The capital of the Salentini, famous for its commodious harbour, from whence there was a short passage to Apollonia in Greece. The Greeks called it Ὑδρὺς, *Hydrus*, in which they have been sometimes followed by the Latins, thus Cic. lib. 16. *epist. de postero ad Hydruntem pervenimus*; and Lucan, lib. 5. *quas avius Hydrus*. It is still a good town, with a convenient harbour, and strong castle, and goes by the name of *Otranto*.

(*g*) A town of Macedon, on the *ora Illyricana*, sixty furlongs from the sea, and ten from the river *Axus*. It was famous for learning, at the time of Julius Caesar, who sent his nephew, Octavius, to perform his studies here.

(*h*) It is called *Asculum Apulum*, to distinguish it from *Asculum Picenum*; the former is now known by the name of *Ascoli di Satriano*; and the other by that of *Ascoli* only.

Carthaginians.



Carthaginians. As his Italian conquests did not go on so easily as he could wish, he would fain try whether that of Sicily was more practicable. Besides, he was not one that would let slip an opportunity of being revenged of the Carthaginians; who had lately concluded a new treaty with the Romans, after offering to assist them with a hundred and twenty ships, commanded by Mago their general. Before his departure, Pyrrhus had another opportunity of admiring the virtue of the great Fabricius. This prince's physician had made an offer to the Roman general, to take off his master by poison, for a sum of money; but Fabricius generously disclosed the traitor to Pyrrhus. On the other hand, the king of Epirus, not to be behind hand in generosity, released without ransom all the Roman prisoners; they were received, but discharged, and an equal number of Samnite and Tarentine prisoners were sent in their stead. The Romans set very slight upon a soldier, that would submit to be taken prisoner, so long as he had arms to defend himself; they never entered into a treaty to ransom their prisoners; if there was an exception after the battle of Heraclea, it was because the prisoners taken that day, were, as we have already observed, more unfortunate than guilty.

**Generosity of Fabricius.** Pyrrhus's absence proved fatal to the Tarentines, and the confederates, who are beaten by Fabricius.

**The Tarentines defeated.**

476.

The two consuls turned their arms against the Samnites, who had taken refuge among their mountains, from whence the Romans endeavoured to dislodge them, but were repulsed with loss.

They were more successful against the Brutii, from whom they took *Croto* (i). The Locri (k), among whom Pyrrhus had left his third son Alexander, surrendered themselves to the republic, after massacring all the Epirots in garrison.

477.

**The Samnites, &c. defeated.**

The advantages of the Romans were greater this year, under the conduct of the consul Fabius; by whom the Samnites, the Lucanians, and the Brutii, were successively subdued. The Tarentines recall Pyrrhus, who had been two years in Sicily, where he had made a considerable progress: but the Sicilians, disgusted at his tyrannical administration, were glad to get rid of him, and he quickly lost those towns that had espoused his cause. His fleet was defeated in the straits of Sicily, by the Carthaginians. Out of two hundred galleys, he brought but

**Pyrrhus returns to Italy.**

(i) *Croto* or *Croton*, now *Crotone*, a city of Italy, in the territory of the Brutii. The inhabitants were called *Crotoniatae* and *Crotonienses*. The air hereabouts was very wholesome and temperate, whence the proverb, *Crotone saluberrima*.

(k) The *Locri* or *Locrenses* were a people who inhabited the eastern coast of the country of the Brutii. Their chief town was also called *Locri*, (land *procul ab urbe Locris abest*, Liv. lib. 29.) situate near the promontory of *Zephyrium*, from whence they were denominated *Locri Epizephyrii*.



twelve back with him to Italy. He passed through the country of the Locri, and plundered the temple of Proserpine of immense treasure. The pagan historians consider the tempest, which destroyed the rest of his fleet, and all the other misfortunes which afterwards befel that prince, as a divine punishment.

P. Cornelius Rufinus, being named dictator, drives a nail into the sanctuary of Minerva, in order to put a stop to the plague, which made great ravages in that capital, and particularly exerted its malignity against the fruit of pregnant women. St. Austin says humorously, upon this subject, that *probably the serpent of Epidaurus had offered his service to the Romans as a physician, and not as a man-midwife.*

The vestal Sextia is put to death for being guilty of incontinency.

478.

Insurrection at Rome in consequence of the new levies. Curius Dentatus causes the first man that refuses to enlist, to be sold as a slave. This severity of the prudent consul, hindered the insurrection from spreading, and was afterwards imitated by succeeding consuls, with the same success. Curius said, that the republic had no need of a disobedient citizen.

Battle of Beneventum, which proved decisive against Pyrrhus and his allies : by this victory, almost all Italy was reduced under the power of the Romans : they were obliged for it to Curius, who, with twenty thousand men, overthrew the king of Epirus, with above eighty thousand. This prince, ashamed of his defeat, was obliged to deceive his allies : he made them believe, that he would pass over to Greece, in order to bring them fresh succours : but he forgot them as soon as he left Italy, and two or three years after, he was killed at Argos (1), whither he had undertaken a rash expedition. One of the greatest advantages the Romans gained from the victory near Beneventum, was to learn to entrench, and to encamp. They received excellent instructions from the disposition of Pyrrhus's camp, taken after the battle, which they admired and imitated. " It is remarkable, says M. de Montesquieu, that the Romans rose to universal empire, chiefly by this method ; in fighting successively against all nations, they ever changed their own usages and customs, as soon as they met with better." Battle of Beneventum.  
Death of Pyrrhus.

The two consuls received the honour of a triumph, but the glory of Lentulus was effaced by that of his colleague. Lentulus had been victorious over the Samnites and Lucanians only, a people whom the Romans had been long accustomed to conquer : but Curius had foiled a powerful king, the descendant of Achilles, and rival of Alexander the Great. The novelty of so many objects that appeared at his triumph, added greatly to its splendor. The Epirots, Thessalians, and Macedonians, loaded with irons, walked in the victor's train : and Triumph of Curius and Lentulus.

(1) A famous city of Peloponnesus, in Greece,



before his chariot was carried the pomp of Eastern spoil, as vessels of gold and silver, statues, pictures, purple carpets, and the several instruments of Greek luxury found in Pyrrhus's camp. But nothing raised the admiration of the spectators so much as the four elephants that remained out of the eight taken in battle. These proud animals, says Florus, seemed to be sensible of their captivity; with towers on their backs, and their heads sloping, they moved in a slow solemn pace in the train of the Roman cavalry, by whom they were overcome.

Cornelius Rufinus was struck out of the list of senators, by the censors Fabricius and Æmilius Papus; whose motive for so sensible an affront to a person that had been twice honoured with the consulate, and once with the dictatorship, was their having found ten pound weight of plate in his house. This appeared immoderate luxury, at a time when Curius eat out of wooden utensils, and when all the silver that Fabricius and his colleague were masters of, was only, the former a little salt-cellar, the foot of which was of horn; the latter a small plate, which had belonged to his ancestors, and which he made use of only to present his offerings to the gods.

A census, by which there appeared to be in Rome two hundred and seventy one thousand two hundred and twenty four citizens fit to bear arms.

479.

The Tarentines revolt against Milo, whom Pyrrhus had left in that city with a good garrison; and they oblige him to retire into the citadel. Curius having been raised to the consulate a third time, neglected to besiege Tarentum, in expectation that the inhabitants would destroy one another by their own divisions.

480.

The Samnites defeated.

The Samnites, Lucanians, and Brutians, appeared again in the field this year; but this revolt terminated in honouring the consul Claudius Canina with a triumph.

Ptolemy Philadelphus, king of Egypt, sends ambassadors to the republic, desiring to be admitted among her friends and allies. The Romans in return send four ambassadors to Egypt, who gained the applause both of senate and people, for their generous behaviour in depositing Ptolemy's presents in the public treasury: but the quaestors were ordered to restore those presents to them.

Two colonies were sent, one to *Cosa* (b), a town situate on the Tyrrhenian sea: the other to *Pæstum* (c), anciently *Posidonia* in Lucania.

481.

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(b) Some call it *Cossa*, Virgil gives it the name of *Cosæ*, in the plural. *Quique urbem liquere Cosas*, *Æneid.* 10. It stood not far from the sea and had a good harbour, which in the maritime itinerary is stiled *portus Herculis*. On this spot stands now the town of *Ausidonia*, and within side the lake lies *Oriente*.

(c) A city of Lucania; it took its Greek name from *Ποσειδών*, *Posidon*, which Paterculus,



481.

Intire reduction of the Samnites. This advantage was well worth all the pains it had cost the Romans, and facilitated the conquest of the rest of Italy. The Lucanians and Brutians submit. The Tarentines, feeling the Roman legions advance in order to chastise them, implored the assistance of the Carthaginians, who arrived before this city with a good fleet, and blocked up the port, under the pretence of defending the town against the Epirots.

Intire reduction of the Samnites.

The consul Papirius enters into a reasonable treaty with Milo, who persuades the town to surrender, on condition that the Tarentines shall have their lives saved, and not be plundered. The republic was satisfied with depriving them of their arms and ships, besides dismantling their city, and making it tributary to Rome: it was not customary to proceed with such rigour against conquered nations; only a part of their lands used to be confiscated. Several authors have looked upon the attempt of the Carthaginians against Tarentum, as the original cause of the rupture between their republic and that of Rome.

Tarentum surrenders.

Curius, this year's censor, employed the amount of the booty taken from the enemy, in building a magnificent aqueduct, to convey the waters of the river Anio into the city. Papirius, in memory of the reduction of the Tarentines, erects a temple to the god *Consus*, that is, to Neptune.

482.

A Roman legion, having made themselves masters of Rhegium (c) by treachery, after massacring or expelling the inhabitants, who had put themselves under the protection of the republic at the time of the war with Pyrrhus, the consul Genucius received orders to attack this city. The siege was long, because those unhappy legionaries, apprehensive of the punishment they deserved, defended themselves most vigorously, despair supplying the place of courage. Genucius in danger of miscarrying in his enterprize for want of provisions, is generously assisted by Hiero, a Sicilian prince. At the taking of the town there were only three hundred of the legion remaining; who were sent prisoners to Rome, and condemned, by a decree of the senate, to be beheaded, after being first beaten with rods.

483.

This year the Fasti Capitolini mention a triumph of the consul

The Sarnates defeated.

Paterculus, lib. 1. renders by *Neptunia*. It was famous for roses twice a year, in May and September, *biferi rosaria Pæsti*, Virg. Georg. 4. That it was a city of note, appears by the medals we have still remaining, with this inscription, *Hostidastatar*. It is now a village known by the name of *Pæsti*.

(c) A city of Italy, in the territory of the Brutii, and of such antiquity, that it is thought to have taken its name from *phryum*, *frango*, because Sicily was, according to tradition, severed here from Italy. The town is still called *Raggio*, and is situate on the promontory over against Sicily.

N

Genu-



Genucius over the Sarsinates (*d*), a people of Umbria. But the particulars of this war are not known.

484.

Silver money coined at Rome.

The Romans begin to coin silver money; hitherto they had coined none but pieces of brass; it is true, they had been long acquainted with gold and silver specie, but it was imported from abroad.

485.

Picenum conquered.

War with the Picentes. As the two armies were ready to engage, a sudden earthquake terrified the Romans. In so critical a conjuncture, the consul Sempronius had recourse to an expedient, which had been often crowned with success. He made a vow at the head of the legions, to build a temple to the goddess *Tellus*; and upon his persuading them that he had brought this deity over to their interest, they became invincible. The Picentes are subdued.

The right of suffrage is granted to the Sabines, who before had only that of citizenship.

Colonies sent to Ariminum (*e*) and Beneventum.

486.

The Salentines subdued.

To complete the conquest of Italy, nothing more was wanting than to subdue the Salentines: the Romans coveting that country on account of its convenient harbours, the principal of which was Brundisium (*f*). War is declared against them, under pretence of their having granted succours to Pyrrhus: Brundisium is taken.

487.

All Italy conquered.

This year's consuls completed the reduction of the Salentines, and the Umbrians, the latter having once more ventured to shake off the Roman yoke. The consuls were honoured each with two triumphs; a singular distinction granted to two men, under whose auspices the republic, at length, became mistress of all Italy (*g*). The same

(*d*) The town of *Sarsina*, from whence they took their name, stood on the left bank of the *Sapis*, now *Savio*, and was famous for being the birth place of the comic poet, Plautus. Silius, lib. 8. calls it *Sarsina dives lactis*. The town and name of Sarsina still remain.

(*e*) *Ariminum* was a city of Umbria, at the mouth of the river *Ariminus*, and not far from the Rubicon. It is now called *Rimini*; and the bridge still standing there, is supposed to have been built by the ancient Romans. The quantity of this word we find in Lucan, lib. 1. vet. 231. *Vicinumque minax invadit Ariminum, ut ignes*.

(*f*) It is called *Brindisium* and *Brentesium*, a city famous for the passage from hence to Greece, longer indeed than that from *Hydruntum*, but safer. It is also remarkable for the Appian way, which ended here, *quo desinit Italia tellus*. Silius, lib. 8. It is still known by the name of *Brindisi*.

(*g*) That is from the most distant part of *Hetruria* to the Ionian sea, and from the *Tyrrhenian* sea to the *Adriatic*. Those nations were not all favoured with the same privileges, some had no laws but what they received from Rome; others preserved their old laws and customs; some were tributary, and others allies, and were obliged to furnish the Romans with troops at their own expence. Some had the rights of Roman citizens, and their soldiers were incorporated in the legions; others had likewise the liberty to vote in the elections made in the *Campus Martius*.



of her arms was already spread to distant regions; and most of the foreign states began to court her alliance.

The inhabitants of Apollonia, a town situate between Illyria and Macedonia, were the first that sent ambassadors, to the Romans. Some young senators, having insulted these ambassadors in disputing with them, were delivered up to the Apollonians by an order of the senate.

438.

The Romans receive another embassy from the Volturnenses (g), a War with people of Hetruria at that time subject to the republic, like the the freed- rest of Italy. They came to implore the assistance of the senate men of Volturni, against their freedmen, who, by degrees, had attained to the first offices in the state, and were now committing all manner of violences in Volturni against the most reputable citizens of both sexes. Though the senate had an extraordinary meeting at a private house, to give audience to these ambassadors, yet the freedmen had intelligence of what was transacting: the consul Fabius finding them upon their guard, was obliged to fight them, before he could lay siege to the town; and the enemy made a sally, in which he was killed. This expedition was terminated the next year under the command of M. Fulvius, one of the consuls. All those who had acted any part in the villany, were put to death; the city was rased; and the ancient citizens were transplanted to another place.

Establishment of the four provincial quaestors for Italy; these made Provincial eight in all, reckoning the two quaestors for the city, and the two quaestors. military quaestors: they were all chosen annually in comitia by tribes, and drew lots for their departments.

C. Marcius Rutilus is continued against his will in the censorship; but at his earnest remonstrances a law is revived, forbidding any person to hold the censorship a second time.

The number of citizens able to bear arms, amounted at this time to two hundred ninety two thousand two hundred and twenty four, as appears by the census made this year. In regard to which, it is proper to observe, that of the Roman allies, those only were included in this list, who had received the rights of Roman citizenship, because those only could be incorporated in the legions.

M. and D. Junius Brutus, upon their father's death, introduced the Gladiators custom of gladian combat (h), a bloody spectacle, but well introduced. adapted to the warlike disposition of the Romans.

Execution of the vestal Caparania for incontinency.

439.

(g) They took their name from the town of *Volturni*, otherwise called *Volturni* and *Volturnum*, and at present *Bolsena*, in Hetruria. It stood at the upper end of the lake of the same name, towards the north. Juven. sat. 3. mentions its situation, *positis nemorosa inter juga Volturni*.

(h) These shows were sometimes exhibited at the expence of private persons, to make themselves popular, and because they were freely bestowed, they were called *munus gladiatorum*. Afterwards it became customary for all the principal magistrates to entertain the people with the like spectacles. The custom was derived from the



489.

First Punic war.

Beginning of the first *Punic war*.

Carthage is well known to have been a Tyrian colony, founded on the coast of Africa, by Dido, or Elisa, many years before the foundation of Rome. It is pretended, that the Carthaginians were only masters at first of as much ground as an ox's hide, cut into the smallest shreds, could encompass: for such was the agreement made with the Lybians, of whom they purchased this ground; and from this incident, the city is said to have been originally called *Byrsa*. Be that as it may, it is beyond all doubt that the beginnings of this city were very weak, but that by her trade and skill in navigation, she rose to so high a pitch of power, that at the time we are mentioning, she had greatly extended her dominion in Africa, while she gave laws to part of Spain, to the islands of Corsica and Sardinia, and aimed at the sovereignty of Sicily, great part of which she had already subdued. Messana (i) was at that time besieged by Hiero, king of Syracuse; and Rome and Carthage were contending which should relieve that city, or rather become mistress thereof, under pretence of relieving it.

opinion of the heathens, that the effusion of human blood would appease the ghosts of the deceased, for which reason they bought captives and slaves to be sacrificed at the obsequies. These were called *busuarii*; but afterwards those shows were represented not only at tombs, but in the circus, and the amphitheatre. The condition of gladiators was usually servile; and untoward servants were frequently sold to the *lanistæ*, or *fencing masters*, who let them out for money at a show. Yet freemen sometimes offered themselves for this sport, and were stiled *auſtorati*.

The several kinds of gladiators were the *retiarii*, who went with a net to cast over their adversary; the *secutores*, who pursued the *retiarius*, when he happened to fail in casting his net; the *myrmillones*, who fought completely armed; the *Tibræes*, slaves armed after the manner of that fierce nation; the *Samnites*, so called from being armed after the fashion of that country; the *pinnitapi*, who being matched with the Samnites, used to catch at the crest of their helmet, which was adorned with *pinna*, or peacocks plumes; the *essidarii*, such as engaged one another out of chariots, called *essida*; the *andabata*, or *ἀνὰ δάται*, *ascensores*, viz. *equorum*, such as fought hood-winked on horseback, and therefore *andabatarum more pugnare*, is to combat blindfold.

The setting up the bills for these shows in public places was called *munus pronunciare* or *proponere*; and the *libelli* or bills were sometimes termed *edicta*. The stage on which they fought was called *arena*, because strewed with sand to soak up the blood. They were matched by pairs, which was termed *paria componere*. Their weapons were of two sorts, some with which they only shewed feats of activity, before they fell to it in earnest, and were called *lusoria tela*, as the *rudes* and blunted swords, and the skirmishing was stiled *præludum* or *ventilatio*; others *decretoria*, with which they fought for life or death. When the party was worsted, he *submitted his arms*, yet it depended upon the pleasure of the people to save his life; their favour they expressed *vertendo pollicem*, by turning up the thumb; and the contrary *premendo pollicem*, by turning down the thumb: this discharge was called *missio*. The conquerors were sometimes rewarded with money, but most commonly with a wand called *rudis*, and with a cap called *pileus*, both tokens of liberty; and the *rudarii*, for so they were afterwards stiled, hung up their arms in the temple of Hercules.

(i) A city of Sicily, near the promontory Pelorus, now called *Messina*.

These



These two ambitious republics were friends, so long as it was not their interest to be at variance: Sicily lay convenient for them both, and proved the bone of contention between them.

Claudius, a legionary tribune, goes over privately to Messina, and disposes the inhabitants to receive Appius Claudius, the consul, who soon after arrives unexpectedly, defeats Hiero, now joined by the Carthaginians, and obliges him to retire to Syracuse. This encourages the consul to attack the Carthaginians in their camp, which was too well defended, on one side by the sea, on the other by impracticable morasses, through which there was only one narrow road, and that stopped up by a strong wall: he is repulsed; but the Carthaginians being so imprudent as to pursue him into the plain, they experienced what Roman bravery could do in the open field. This was the first advantage the Romans gained out of Italy, at a time when they hardly knew how to build a ship; the vessel, on board of which Appius so dexterously passed over into Sicily, was a boat unskilfully built, *caudex*, from whence he took his surname.

The Romans defeat the Carthaginians.

490.

The two consuls transport their legions into Sicily, where they obtain great advantages over the Syracusians and the Carthaginians: seventy seven towns submit to the Romans, with whom Hiero concludes a peace, which lasted all the rest of his reign; and for fifty years the republic had not a more faithful ally.

The Romans reduce several places in Sicily.

By the expedition to Messina, the consul Valerius obtained the surname of *Messana*, which descended to his posterity, and in process of time was changed to that of *Messala*. This consul had taken at Catana (*k*) an horizontal sun-dial, a thing altogether new to the Romans; it was carried at his triumph, and afterwards erected in the forum, near the rostra. It is further observed, that Valerius was the first that caused a representation of his victory to be hung up in the forum, and that this became afterwards a standing practice.

Cn. Fulvius Centumalus is created dictator, to drive a nail into the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, on the account of a plague, which made great havock at Rome.

New colonies sent to *Æsernia* (*l*), *Firmum* (*m*), and *Castrum* (*n*), towns belonging to the kingdom of Naples.

491.

Two legions seemed to be sufficient for the service of the current

(*k*) A town of Sicily, at the foot of mount *Ætna*, now called *Catania*.

(*l*) A city of the Samnites in Italy, not far from the *Vulturnus*, and now called *Isernia*.

(*m*) This city of Picenum is not in the kingdom of Naples, but marquise of Ancona, and is now called *Fermo*.

(*n*) This city was also called *Castrum novum*, and stood upon the borders of the *Prætutii*. Pliny places it near the river *Batinus*, the modern *Tondino*. It is now called *S. Marinella*, and does not stand in the kingdom of Naples, but in the ecclesiastic state, near *Corneto*.

Agrigentum  
taken.

Hanno de-  
feated.

year, because the republic depended on the Sicilians ; and indeed upwards of a hundred thousand of the inhabitants of this island listed under the Roman banners. Agrigentum (*n*) is taken, after a siege of seven months. The Carthaginians had spared no pains to relieve this city, which they had made their magazine of arms and provisions. Hanno landed from Carthage with an army of fifty thousand foot, six thousand horse, and sixty elephants ; but he was defeated.

492.

*Punica fides.*

Hanno  
recalled.

Hanno soon met with another cause of chagrin. The Carthaginians being rather a trading than military nation, had hardly any other troops than foreign mercenaries, Africans, Spaniards, Ligurians, and Gauls. Unless these troops were regularly paid, there was no depending upon them. Such was the situation of the Carthaginian general ; he owed a few months pay to the Gauls, the most mutinous of them all, so that they had already threatened to go over to the Romans. In order to get rid of them, he promised they should have the plunder of the town of Entella (*o*), where he pretended to hold a secret correspondence ; and, at the same time, a person went by his orders to give notice to the consuls of the particular hour in which the Gauls were to make themselves masters of the place. The consuls availed themselves of the intelligence ; troops were stationed properly to fall upon the Gauls, who were all put to the sword ; and this seems to justify the proverb of *Punica fides*, *Punic faith*, applied to the Carthaginians.

Another incident that happened at this time, shews plainly the character of the Carthaginians ; this was their recalling Hanno, though they could not charge him with having been deficient either in valour or prudence ; but want of success was always a crime in their eye. Hanno must have thought himself very fortunate to be condemned only in a considerable fine ; for it was the usual fate of generals, on whom fortune had frowned, to meet with a halter at Carthage, in return for all their services.

All the inland towns in Sicily submit to the Romans ; but the Carthaginians make themselves masters of those on the sea coast. By land the superiority was beyond all dispute on the side of the former ; by sea it was with the latter.

493.

The Ro-  
mans equip  
a fleet.

In order to dispute the empire of the sea, the Romans built a fleet of an hundred galleys with five benches of rowers, and twenty with three. In two months time, the timber was cut in the forest, and brought to the sea side ; and the fleet was ready : one would have imagined, says Florus, that the gods had all of a sudden metamorphosed the trees into galleys, in favour of the Romans. True it is

(*n*) A city on the hill Agragas in Sicily, now called *Girgenti*.

(*o*) A town of Sicily in the valley of Mazara ; the ruins of which upon the river *Grimissus* are still extant.



that their fleet experienced the effects of such great hurry, and of their ignorance in maritime affairs; for their galleys were so unwieldy, as to be altogether improper for that light working, which constituted the whole skill of naval engagements in those days. In order to supply this defect, they invented a machine, which was afterwards called *corvus*; it was erected on the prow of the ship, with an intent to grapple the galleys, and to make a kind of a draw-bridge, in order to come at the enemy; so that the Romans had thereby the advantage of finding land in some measure in the middle of the sea.

Sea fight near the coast of Mylæ (*p*), gained by the consul Duilius, his colleague. Cornelius, to whose lot the command of the fleet was fallen, had been lately taken by treachery, with seven of his ships. Hannibal (not the celebrated son of Hamilcar) commanded the Carthaginian fleet: as soon as he saw the Romans grapple the seventh galley in which he himself commanded, he made his escape in his skiff, and left the fleet, consisting of a hundred and thirty galleys, to the mercy of the enemy: one and thirty were taken, fourteen sunk to the bottom, and the rest dispersed: three thousand of the Carthaginians were killed, and seven thousand taken prisoners. The consequence of this victory, was the raising the siege of Segesta (*q*), and the taking of Macella (*r*).

Naval triumph granted to Duilius; medals were struck in memory of his expedition; and a column (*s*) was erected to his honour, which subsists to this very day, having been found in the last century.

494.

Since the departure of Duilius, the Carthaginians had recovered a superiority in Sicily. The expeditions of Aquilius, his successor, only stopped their progress.

Cornelius Scipio makes an attempt upon the islands of Sardinia and Corsica, great part of which he subdues.

Conspiracy at Rome among the soldiers (mostly Samnites) whom the provinces of Italy had furnished for the fleet, that is, to row on board the galleys. They were joined by three thousand slaves; but the plot being discovered to the senate by a Samnite officer, is nipped in its bud.

Corsica and Sardinia conquered. Conspiracy at Rome.

495.

Aquilius remains in Sicily with the title of proconsul, where he must have behaved very well, since he was judged deserving of triumphal honours.

(*p*) A sea port in Sicily, now called *Milazzo*.

(*q*) A town in Sicily, said to have been built by Æneas, and the same with Virgil's *Acesta*, *urbem appellabant permissò nomine Acestam*, *Æn.* 5. from *Acesta* came *Segesta*.

(*r*) A town of Sicily, situate between the rivers Hypsa and Crimissus, and mentioned among Duilius's exploits in the fragment of the *columna rostrata*.

(*s*) This is the famous *columna rostrata*, so called from the beaks of ships fastened to it, and still to be seen in the capitol at Rome.



The taking of Mystratum by the consul A. Attilius. As he was leading his army to besiege Camarina (s), he was surrounded in a valley like that of the Caudine forks. Calpurnius Flamma, with three hundred chosen men, who were determined to stand by him, saved the Roman army by true heroic bravery; all his companions were slain, and he alone was found still breathing, but covered with wounds, under a heap of dead bodies; yet he recovered, and was rewarded with a crown of *gramen* (t). The taking of Camarina, Sittana, and Erbesus: but Attilius miscarries before Lipara (u). Sulpicius beats Hannibal by sea, and is successful in Sardinia. This second defeat cost the Carthaginian general his life; he is tried in a tumultuous manner, and crucified by his own soldiers.

496.

The Romans defeat the Carthaginians at sea.

The command of the Carthaginian fleet is given to Hamilcar, who before had been general of the land forces in Sicily, and whom we must not confound with the father of the celebrated Hannibal. This admiral comes to an engagement with the consul Attilius Regulus, and the Romans obtain the victory. The surname of *Serranus*, which the above consul began at that time to bear, was owing to the following circumstance, that the persons appointed to acquaint him with the news of his election, found him busy in sowing his lands, an employment which the highest persons in the Roman republic did not then think beneath their dignity.

Proconsuls created.

In Sicily almost the whole glory of the campaign was obtained by A. Attilius, who had orders to continue there at the head of the army with the title of proconsul. This custom, as father Catrou observes, was introduced about this time among the Romans: as they no longer waged war in the neighbourhood of their capital, they did not think it right to remove those generals who were employed out of Italy, upon expeditions that required some time to execute; to remove them, I say, from their employment; exactly at the expiration of the year. The office of consul was not prolonged; but the command of the army was continued to the same generals, under the name of proconsuls.

Renewal of the *Feria Latina* on account of some pretended prodigies; and Q. Ogulnius is created dictator, to preside at the ceremony.

497.

Corfica, Sardinia, and Sicily, being almost intirely subdued, the

(s) Now in ruins, and called *Terre di Camerana*. In this neighbourhood is the famous *palus Camarina*, from whence came the proverb, *Camarinam ne moveas*.

(t) The coronets given as rewards to military merit, were the *corona civica*, of oaken boughs, for saving the life of a Roman citizen; the *muralis*, for scaling the walls of a city; the *castrensis*, or *vallaris*, for forcing the enemy's entrenchments; the *navalis*, for behaving valourously at sea; the *obsidionalis*, given by the soldiers to the general, upon raising the siege of a place, and made like that of Calpurnius of grass; the *triumphalis*, made with wreaths of laurel, for generals that had the honour of a triumph.

(u) An island near Sicily, the chief of the *Æolian*: it still retains the name of *Lipari*.

ambi-



ambition of the Romans increased with their success, till at length <sup>The Ro-</sup> it knew no bounds; so that they resolved to carry the war into Africa. <sup>mans pass</sup> Their fleet consisted of three hundred and thirty sail; and the Car- <sup>into Africa.</sup> thaginians had three hundred and forty. The famous sea-fight off Ecnomus (x), near Heraclea, on the coast of Sicily, in which Re- <sup>The battle</sup> gulus and Manlius obtain a complete victory over Hamilcar and Han- <sup>of Ecnomus.</sup> no, taking sixty four of their galleys, and sinking above thirty. The Romans immediately proceed to Africa, and seize on Clupea (y), intending to make it their magazine of arms and provisions: this city was situated to the east of Carthage, not far from cape Herminia (z). The consuls could not proceed any further without fresh orders from the senate.

These orders were, that Manlius should return to Rome, that Regulus should continue the war in Africa, even after the expiration of his consulship, with the title of proconsul, and that he should reserve such a number of soldiers and ships for this expedition, as he thought proper. He kept only forty vessels, with a proportionable number of troops; which alone sufficiently shewed how worthy he was of the confidence of the senate. He gained a victory by land, <sup>Regulus's</sup> which was soon followed by the surrender of two hundred towns, <sup>conquests.</sup> among which was Tunetum (a), a considerable city, taken in sight of the Carthaginians, and distant only three or four leagues from the capital. The Carthaginians sue for peace; Regulus would grant them none, but upon such conditions as were intolerable. His rapid success had rendered him haughty and intractable, and now it made him rash and imprudent.

A brave Lacedæmonian officer, by name Xantippus, arrived at <sup>Xantippus</sup> Carthage, with a reinforcement of Greek troops; and this was the man <sup>commands</sup> destined to subdue the conqueror of the Carthaginians. He observed <sup>the Cartha</sup> to them that their late overthrow was owing to themselves, because <sup>ginians.</sup> they had fought upon a spot of ground, where their cavalry, in which alone they were superior to the Romans, had not room to act. He promised to repair this mistake, and accordingly he posted himself in a <sup>Regulus de-</sup> plain where the elephants and Carthaginian horse might be of service <sup>seated and</sup> to them. Regulus followed him, imagining himself invincible; but <sup>taken pri-</sup> he was taken prisoner, together with five hundred Romans, the <sup>soner.</sup> companions of his misfortunes. Xantippus, foreseeing that the Carthaginians would never forgive him for the service he had done them, withdrew himself privately to his own country.

498.

The consuls set sail with a new fleet of three hundred and fifty <sup>The Car-</sup> galleys; but the badness of the weather obliges them to put into <sup>thaginians</sup> Cossura, an island belonging to the Carthaginians, which they take <sup>defeated by</sup> sea and land.

(x) A mountain of Sicily.

(y) So called from its being formed in the shape of a shield. The Greek writers give it the name of *Aspis*. In *Glypei speciem curvatis turrib. s. Aspis*. Sil. lib. 3.

(z) Or Cape Mercury, now *Cape Bona*.

(a) *Tunetum*, or *Tunes*, *etis*, the city of *Tunis*.

in their way. Upon their arrival in Africa, they obtain two great victories, one by sea, near cape Hermea, the other by land, not far from Clupea, which the Carthaginians wanted to recover: notwithstanding these advantages, the consuls determined to abandon Africa, so greatly had the country been ravaged by Regulus. The Roman fleet set sail, laden with immense riches, which were all swallowed up by the sea. The most violent storm that had been known for a long time, surprised the consuls on the coast of Sicily, where they were employed in taking a few maritime towns, contrary to the opinion of their pilots. This fine fleet was composed of about four hundred vessels, out of which not above fourscore returned to the ports of Italy.

499.

Panormus  
taken.

The war was carried on this year with fresh fury in Sicily, which began once more to attract the attention of the Carthaginians, and the Romans; but the latter obtained the advantage. For they had fitted out a new fleet of two hundred and fifty galleys; and made themselves masters of Panormus (*b*), the capital of Sicily.

500.

The consuls made a descent upon Africa, with a fleet of two hundred and sixty sail. The spoils they took in that country, were again swallowed up by the sea; for a storm, as terrible as the former, overtook them off cape Palinurus (*c*), and sunk a hundred and sixty of their galleys.

The republic renounces the empire of the seas; though it was not usual for her to be dejected upon such a disappointment; on the contrary, it was her custom to bear up more firmly against unprosperous strokes of fortune; so that the Romans never appeared more assuming than when unsuccessful. But here superstition was concerned; for they believed the gods did not approve of their design. The senate passed a decree, forbidding more than sixty ships to be equipped for the future; and that these should be employed intirely in guarding the coast of Italy, and transporting troops to Sicily.

## PARTICULAR REMARKS.

THE reduction of Veii had opened a road to conquests of a far different nature. “ The senate, as M. de Montesquieu observes, having found means to allow the troops a regular stipend, the siege of Veii was undertaken, and lasted ten years. Then it was that a new manner of waging war appeared among the Romans; their successes became more signal, and more important: they made a better use of their victories, they formed greater con-

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(*b*) So called from *παν* and *ορμος*, because its harbour gave reception to ships of all nations: its present name is *Palermo*.

(*c*) A promontory of Lucania, now called *Capo di Palinuro*. See Palinurus's story, in Virgil.



“ conquests, and they sent out more colonies; in short, the taking of  
 “ Veii was a kind of revolution.” And, indeed, the Romans were  
 become masters of all Italy, at the close of this century: but though  
 they had acquired more power, they were far from being more  
 happy.

It is a most melancholy reflection, that those brave warriors, covered  
 with glory and wounds, and worn out with the fatigues of a long  
 campaign, should, at their return from their conquests, find themselves  
 under the necessity of repairing, with heavy hearts, to the public  
 forum, and of petitioning for a distribution of lands and corn, or for  
 the abolition of their debts. This poverty, which they honoured in  
 public, was shunned, was detested in private. Those who gloried in  
 it the most, were not the most to be pitied, because their birth and  
 dignities procured them the necessaries of life; and as they were  
 greatly respected in consequence of this outward shew of poverty,  
 they were supplied by that means with all manner of superfluities.  
 “ Let who will admire the poverty of Fabricius, says M. de St.  
 “ Evremont, I commend his prudence, and find he judged extremely  
 “ well in having but one silver salt-cellar, in order to have such  
 “ interest with the republic, as to expel from the senate a person  
 “ who had been twice consul, had obtained a triumph, and been  
 “ dictator, merely for being found to have a little more money  
 “ than himself.” So far were most of the Romans from reap-  
 ing any such advantage from their poverty, that, on the contrary,  
 they experienced all the miseries that generally attend it; and their  
 hardships were so much the greater, as it was impossible, at that  
 time, to relieve them. Which way could they avoid a scarcity in  
 a state that was too populous, considering the smallness of its circum-  
 ference, and that had voluntarily deprived itself of helps, which the  
 arts and commerce afford in the like cases? Was it possible for them  
 to give lands to all the soldiers? Those they had taken from the  
 enemy were hardly sufficient to maintain the inhabitants. Could  
 they make an act of insolvency? Perhaps it would have been an in-  
 justice; and without doubt it would have been bad policy, for it would  
 have utterly destroyed all means or hopes of borrowing in distress.  
 All these points must therefore have been a perpetual source of discord  
 and division.

The public was richer in proportion than individuals. Horace,  
 speaking of the first ages of Rome, says, that the private people were  
 poor, and the government rich: *privatus illis erat census brevis, commune*  
*magnum*. The government had resources, which private people had not.  
 We ought to look upon their conquests, as one of their chief resources;  
 but I cannot join issue with the author of a treatise on the Roman  
 revenue, when he says: “ that war is now become an abyss, which  
 “ swallows up all the riches of a state; whereas, it was heretofore a  
 “ mine, from whence the Romans derived their chief treasure; that  
 “ this is a truth, supported by an infinite number of examples; and  
 “ that it is founded on the following principle of political wisdom,  
 “ which



“ which requires that the revenue of a state should arise from the same  
 “ cause as the necessity of spending it ; and that war, being a voracious monster, should devour its own substance, and drink up its  
 “ own blood.” It seems to me, that this manner of acquiring and increasing the public demesne, the Romans had in common with all other nations ; and that it cannot be considered as any particular policy of that republic : it seems also, that the republic at that time of day was very far from deriving any such vast emoluments from her conquests : the greatest part of the petty nations she had subdued, were almost as warlike, as barbarous, and as poor as the Romans themselves.

I really believe, that the chief treasures of the republic consisted then in the admirable regulation, which Servius Tullius had made in the revenue. Nothing can be more beautiful, than that distribution of the citizens into different classes, to which they were admitted either by rotation, or on account of birth and dignity, or in consequence of possessions and wealth. Such a plan, well attended to, might be said to contain a perfect system, not only in regard to government, as we have observed above, but moreover in respect to the revenue. This merits some further consideration.

All imposts, of what nature or form soever, must needs fall on two different objects, namely, landed estates, and industry. These two sorts of property are, indeed, the only goods that mankind possess ; the one is susceptible of a tax on possessions, and the other of a poll-tax. So long as the Romans were without commerce, and almost without arts, they could hardly impose any other than a tax on possessions. In this respect, they still followed the plan of Servius Tullius ; which proved so convenient, that it subsisted as long as the empire. We find under the Roman emperors, that the tax on possessions was levied so generally, and with such exactness, in regard to the quantity and quality of lands, that no estates were exempted from it. Neither condition, age, children, nor sex, were any excuse : even the imperial lands and houses, as well as those belonging to the church, were subject alike to be taxed. The emperors Gratian, Valens, and Arcadius, revoked all the immunities that had been granted before their time, with strict prohibitions not to impetrate any for the future, nor to forge any false ones, upon pain of being consigned to the flames. These assessments, or imposts, were called *indictiones* ; and when the necessities of the government required, they made a re-assessment, or an addition to the tax, which was called *superindictum*. The arrears of both taxes admitted of no prescription ; in default of payment, they sold the estate, and the exchequer took the precedence of all other creditors. But indulgences were granted ; the towns and provinces compounded sometimes, and paid it in three terms, the first of September, the first of January, and the first of May ; there was also great care taken to prevent any embezzlement. Whenever the assessors of the taxes exempted any person through partiality or favour, the estates so indulged were confiscated, and they themselves underwent a fine of four times the sum.



sum. If the imposts they laid were too heavy, they were condemned to restore double, or even four times the sum, and even to capital punishment, in case of a relapse.

Happy would it have been for the Romans, had they preserved the institution of Servius Tullius in full force; but having unluckily lost sight of that unity of tax, which the above prince proposed, they did not stick to that original impost; but estates were charged with a multitude of other duties. Some were obliged to supply the military magazines every year with a certain quantity of corn; as also to provide carriages for that purpose; others were to find quarters for the soldiers and the magistrates: no house whatever was exempted from making and carrying the ammunition bread. They laid duties on victuals, dress, forage, horses, leather; a great many towns were obliged to furnish horses and coaches on the roads, for the service of the magistrates and the governors. They even laid taxes on lands for the erecting of public buildings, &c. But would it not have been more natural, since the necessities of the state so required, to have been satisfied with raising the original land-tax? The Romans would then have preserved the same simplicity in their revenues as in their laws; but as the multiplicity of duties was necessarily attended with an immense variety of laws, contraventions of those laws were become more frequent, in proportion as the knowledge of them grew more difficult, and their application less certain. As the regulations concerning the revenue had not the simplicity of the civil laws, they were not attended with half the advantage that was expected from them; for those regulations themselves were alone sufficient to produce an infinite number of disputes and law suits.

But the Romans deviated still more from the institution of Servius Tullius, when they came to tax industry. It is sometimes easy to conquer a people; and still more easy, when once they are conquered, to strip them of their property: but it is not so easy to enjoy that industry by which those people acquired their property, and by which they are capable of obtaining a new supply. For this purpose the Romans had recourse to personal imposts, or poll-taxes, which were generally raised in the conquered countries on people of all ranks and age, with some small difference according to circumstances of time and place: but these contributions, though frequently excessive in themselves, were not sufficient by half to answer the necessities of the republic. The greatest part of the revenue went to enrich the military people, or the officers employed in collecting it: the assessments were arbitrary, and such as could tend only to the discouragement of industry. The people paid immense sums, while the government received but very little; the provinces were ruined; but the public coffers were not filled; therefore they were obliged to have recourse to other expedients. Taxes on consumption, and on necessities and conveniences of life, were multiplied in all parts, even in the heart of Italy, and in Rome itself. The gates of cities, the mouths of harbours, the high-ways, and bridges, were like so many turnpikes, where



where the people were all obliged to pay toll : even the very source of industry was cut off, by taking possession of the mines and salt-pits, and by granting to particular persons an exclusive right of selling certain commodities or merchandize, for which they paid a duty called *jus monopolii, the right of monopoly*. At length, under the emperors, they went so far as to lay a tax upon every thing, be it ever so mean in nature, upon usurers, beggars, courtezans, upon those who made a trade in the prostitution of both sexes, a capitation tax upon all sorts of persons, *nomine stercoris et urinae, &c.*

When Caligula, in order to swell the number of contraventions and confiscations, forbid the fixing of his edicts to the new duties, he committed an injustice that answered no manner of purpose. The imposts had been so greatly multiplied for a long time before, and were of such a complicate nature, that it would have been a study by itself only to learn their names. The people being subject to the heavy yoke of publicans and farmers of the revenue, lived in continual restraint and alarm. The Roman state, once free and triumphant, seemed more like to a country invaded by barbarians, and laid under contribution by an enemy.

And yet how easy would it have been to avoid all these evils ! For this end, no more was requisite than to follow exactly the plan of Servius Tullius, which taken in its full extent, naturally comprehended the tax upon industry.

We are to remember, that by the institution of this wise and politic prince, 1°. the citizens were divided into different classes, the first of which was filled by the senators, patricians, and knights ; the second, by those who were next in fortune and riches to the foregoing, and so on. 2°. The first class bore the greatest weight of the expences of government, the second bore less, the third still less, and so on by gradation. 3°. All those classes had a share in the government, and of course, in all distinctions in the same proportion ; that is, private people contributed in proportion to the advantages they derived from society. Now I take upon me to say, that if the Romans could have divelled themselves of that military spirit, which was the cause of their setting a value upon no other riches than those acquired by plunder, this institution was of such a nature, as must have raised a very considerable revenue to the republic, almost without encumbering or restraining individuals ; which is doubtless the greatest advantage that can be expected from political regulations of the revenue.

Every government will enjoy the largest possible revenue, whenever it is sure, 1°. that the individuals are as rich as they possibly can be ; 2°. that they all contribute exactly, according to the extent of their abilities ; 3°. that the state reaps the benefit of the sums contributed, or at least the greatest part of those sums.

Let us suppose, for a moment, that excepting the patricians, and all those who deserved well of their country, the citizens were no longer suffered to enter the different classes we have been speaking of, otherwise than in proportion to the tax that each man voluntarily laid upon himself,



himself, in registering his name in such or such a list: let us suppose that at the same time all duties were abolished, except the tax on possessions, which ought to be very moderate, and of its own nature is attended with very little trouble or expence in collecting, and not much subject to arbitrary assessments; and then let us see what will be the consequence.

Industry will be immediately encouraged, because it is no longer constrained nor undervalued: it is no longer constrained, because all monopolies are abolished; is no longer undervalued, because it may lead to honours, and give admittance to the most honoured classes. The people of course will in a very little time be as rich as possible, considering the circumstances they are under. I do not mean to speak of riches acquired by conquest; for a people thus enriched, ought to be compared to a gang of banditti; if they grow rich, it is but for a moment. Industry alone has within itself a perpetual source of wealth, because the advantages it confers on mankind, are inexhaustible.

At the same time that the citizens grow rich by their labour, they will endeavour to get themselves registered in the list of those who contribute most to the government; both their honour and interest being equally concerned. Their honour calls upon them, because this is the way to preferment; their interest requires it, because it is only in proportion to their contribution, that they will be able to reap the benefit of their labour. If they will not submit to the tax, they must sink into the very last class, free indeed from all contributions, but at the same time possessed of no privilege; and as they do not pay their quota to the government, they may, with good reason, be subjected to the meanest drudgery, such as working upon the high roads, and personal service in attending the army, &c. Let it not then be imagined that they will in the least refuse to submit to the above tax; this would be having a very imperfect knowledge of human nature. Is there any man whatsoever that would refuse to pay annually a very moderate sum, in order to partake of the rights and privileges, in short, all the advantages of society, in proportion to his fortune? I say a very moderate sum; and of this all the world may be convinced by a most simple calculation (c). Besides, every citizen receives such advantages from society, that he is induced to love it, and to contribute chearfully towards the public expence; when he does it reluctantly, it is not the duty that offends him, but the enormous disproportion between what he contributes, and what the government receives.

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(c) Supposing only six millions of contributors, at the rate of fifty livres, one with another, the state would receive a revenue of three millions, without including the product of the tax on possessions. And yet this contribution is nothing at all, if we compare it to what has been always paid in countries and times remarkable for the most moderate duties: nay, it would become almost insensible, were the terms of payment sufficiently multiplied.



There would be no manner of danger of this in the present supposition; and this is the third advantage of the institution we are now examining. If we consider the immense sums that must have been absorbed, on the one hand, by the profits of the publicans, and farmers of the revenue, &c. profits ever proportioned to the extreme rapaciousness with which they are charged by all historians; on the other, by the necessary expence of collecting, of executions, fines, confiscations, all which sums must exceed the original tax, and be so much loss, both to the person that paid them, and to the treasury that from thence received no benefit. If we consider likewise the extorsions, outrages and depredations, that must have necessarily followed from so strange a multiplicity of duties, as those we have been describing, we shall easily perceive how advantageous it would have been to the Romans to have confined themselves to a tax, that would have come almost intire into the treasury, and passed immediately as it were from private hands into those of the public. This is what they might have done by reducing the revenue to a single impost, as well in regard to possessions, as persons, agreeably to the views of king Servius. But unluckily they deviated from this point, and had reason afterward to acknowledge the truth of an observation made by a modern writer (*d*), that in matter of imposts, two and two do not always make four, for very often they make no more than one.

There remains but one thing to prove, namely, that beside the advantage of procuring the largest possible revenue to the government, the above institution should likewise have that of laying but a very light burden, and no manner of constraint upon individuals. But is there any occasion to prove this, after what has been said? It is obvious, that no man could complain of a burden, which he had laid upon himself for his own benefit, and which he might diminish whenever he pleased, by reducing his contribution, and descending to an inferior class. It is equally evident, that in this supposition, there is an end of all constraint, not only in regard to taxes, but to social intercourse, and to the use of that natural right, and invaluable blessing, called liberty. I add further, that if this plan had been adopted by the Romans, their republic would have become the model of a perfect government, where the first honours ought to be reserved for high birth, valour, and signal services done to one's country; the second for labour, wit, and industry.

I might now demonstrate, that the system of king Servius would have been absolutely as simple in practice, as it was noble and sublime in theory: I might even shew, that though the Romans in process of time lost almost the very idea of it, yet there remained some

(*d*) Dean Swift made this remark on the custom-house duties, to shew that by encreasing the duties on merchandize, the consumption thereof is diminished in the same proportion; and thus it frequently happens, that when they reckoned to receive four, they received but one. I use this proposition in another sense, which is equally true.  
impression



impression of it in their manners. In order to this, I need only to observe, that to attain the degree of a Roman knight, it was sufficient to possess a certain share of property; that those senators who were no longer possessed of the fortunes requisite for persons of their rank, were subject to be struck out of the list; that at the time of making the census, the citizens entered into different classes, in proportion to the declaration they gave in of their effects, and the estimate of the censors, &c. But these are particulars foreign from the nature of this work; I must therefore confine myself to the plan originally laid down, and only sketch the principal outlines.

I have but one more word to add; which will sufficiently evince, that Servius's institution properly understood, would have been attended with as beneficial consequences in regard to war, as to the revenue. I shall therefore observe with M. de Montesquieu, "that the constitution of Rome was founded on this principle, that none should be enlisted as soldiers, but such as were men of sufficient property to answer for their conduct to the republic (c)." Whence we must conclude, that of all systems, that of Servius Tullius would have been the best adapted for multiplying the number of citizens, capable of doing honour to the military service.

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(c) The Spirit of Laws, book 11. chap. 18.



# ROMAN ANNALS.

## SIXTH CENTURY.

Year of Rome 501.

Before Christ 253.

Lipara  
taken.

**T**HE Romans make themselves masters of Himera (e) in Sicily, and of Lipara, a town situate in a small island of the same name, bordering upon Sicily. The siege of those two places had been attempted before, but without success. Almost all the inhabitants of Lipara were put to the sword, because the town had been taken by storm; but it has been observed in praise of the Romans, that they not only spared but conferred particular favours on the family of Timastheus, who one hundred and forty years before had done them some considerable service.

By a census taken this year, there appeared to be in Rome two hundred and ninety seven thousand, seven hundred and ninety seven men fit to bear arms. The censors, who took this list, were remarkable for their severity. Thirteen senators were expelled the house, and four hundred Roman knights were degraded to the lower class of all, *ararii facti*; the latter for having disobeyed the orders of their general, a crime which was never pardoned at Rome. And this very year, Q. Cassius, a legionary tribune, was beaten with rods, and reduced to the state of a common soldier, for acting contrary to the orders of the consul Aurelius.

A plebeian  
made ponti-  
fex maxi-  
mus.

The dignity of *pontifex maximus* is conferred for the first time on a plebeian, and the only reason that can be given for so extraordinary a revolution, was the singular virtue of the person invested with that dignity, which was Tib. Coruncanius. As the *pontifex maximus* was supreme judge and arbitrator of all points of religion, we may easily imagine how great an authority he must have had among so religious a people as the Romans.

502.

The consuls stood upon the defensive in Sicily; their whole attention being taken up in depriving Asdrubal, the new Carthaginian general, of every means of attacking them. This timid conduct was a necessary consequence of the weak condition, to which the Roman navy had been reduced by a decree of the senate. The conscript fathers saw the inconveniency, and gave orders for immediately fitting out a fleet, able to cope with the Carthaginians.

503.

Battle of  
Panormus.

Battle of Panormus gained by the proconsul Metellus: the enemy lost twenty thousand men, and all their elephants to the number of one hundred and forty. The consuls immediately invested Lily-

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(e) A town situate at the mouth of a river of the same name; it is now called *Termini-  
Imerina* baum,



CONSULS.	Y. of Rome.	Y. bef. J. C.	Eminent and learned men.	Contemporary princes.
<p>           C. Aurelius Cotta.            Servilius Geminus.            Lucius Cæcilius Metellus.            C. Furius Pacellus.            C. Attilius Regul.            L. Manlius Vulso. 2<sup>o</sup>.            P. Claudius Pulcher.            L. Junius Pullus.            C. Aurelius Cotta. 2<sup>o</sup>.            P. Servilius Geminus. 2<sup>o</sup>.            Lucius Cæcilius Metellus. 2<sup>o</sup>.            Num. Fabius Buteo.            Man. Otacilius Cras.            L. 2<sup>o</sup>.            M. Fabius Licinus.            M. Fabius Buteo.            C. Attilius Bulbus.            A. Manlius Torquatus Atticus.            C. Sempronius Blaesus.            C. Fundanius Fundulus.            C. Sulpicius Gallus.            C. Lutatius Catulus.            Aulus Posthumius Albinus.            Q. Lutatius Cereus.            A. Manlius Torquatus Atticus. 2<sup>o</sup>.            C. Claudius Centho.            M. Sempronius Tuditanus.            C. Mamilius Turinus.            Q. Valerius Falto.            Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus.            P. Valerius Falto.            L. Cornelius Lentulus Caudinus.            Q. Fulvius Placcus.            P. Cornelius Lentulus Caudinus.            C. Licinius Varus.            C. Attilius Bulbus. 2<sup>o</sup>.            T. Manlius Torquatus.            Lucius Posthumius Albinus.         </p>	<p>           501            502            503            504            505            506            507            508            509            510            511            512            513            514            515            516            517            518            519         </p>	<p>           253            252            251            250            249            248            247            246            245            244            243            242            241            240            239            238            237            236            235         </p>	<p>           Archimedes of Syracuse, died the first year of the hundred and forty second olympiad.            His superior skill in all the branches of mathematics, and especially in mechanics, enabled him to do important services to the city of Syracuse, his native place, when besieged by the Romans; but his country had forgot them in Cicero's time. This great orator takes notice, that when he was quæstor in Sicily, he discovered in the neighbourhood of Syracuse, Archimedes's tomb, all covered with brambles, which he ordered to be cleared away, out of respect to the memory of this great man. There are some of Archimedes's works still extant.            Cato (Marcus Porcius) furnished the censor, died the year of Rome 605, at the age of ninety.            He distinguished himself not only at the bar, but in the army, and in civil employments. In Cicero's time, there were a hundred and fifty of his orations still remaining. He likewise left some letters behind him, and several books on the origin of the cities of Italy, and on the military art. There is also reason to believe that he wrote on the civil law.         </p>	<p>           Kingdom of Judah.            Onias II. the eleventh high priest, since the return from the captivity, year before Christ 236            Simon II. the twelfth high priest in 222            During his pontificate, Ptolemy Philopator, king of Egypt, came to Jerusalem, and wanted to go into the holy place, but was prevented by a sudden trembling that seized his whole body.            Onias III. thirteenth high priest in 202            Jason, or Jesus, brother of Onias, is intruded into his place, by order of Antiochus Epiphanes, king of Syria, whose protection he had purchased, 176            Menelaus outbids Jason, and obliges him to fly away, 173            Antiochus Epiphanes, king of Syria, hearing that part of the Jews had revolted under the command of Jason, lays siege to Jerusalem, and takes it by storm. Eighty thousand inhabitants are put to the sword, forty thousand are made prisoners, and the like number sold into slavery. Antiochus enters the temple, attended by Menelaus; profanes it, and not only carries off the sacred vessels, and treasure, but gives orders for establishing the worship of idols. Severe persecution. A-            O 2 among         </p>



Regulus sent to Rome to treat of a peace.

He returns to Carthage, and is put to a cruel death.

bæum (*f*), the strongest place the Carthaginians possessed in Sicily. The latter, disheartened by so many miscarriages, began to sue for peace. The famous Regulus, whom they still held in rigorous confinement, is sent to Rome along with their ambassadors, in order to make proposals of peace, and to desire an exchange of prisoners. The Carthaginians reckoned that he would make use of this opportunity to recover his liberty: and who would not have been of that opinion? But when Regulus was admitted to the senate, he made a speech to prove that it was not the interest of the republic, either to conclude a peace, or to exchange prisoners. He foresaw the tortures that were reserved for him at Carthage, in consequence of this behaviour; but he was animated with a noble ambition of wiping off the infamy of his defeat, by sacrificing his life for the welfare of the republic. The Carthaginians were so provoked as to invent new torments for him; they cut off his eye-lids, and in this condition, they exposed him several days to the scorching heat of the sun; after this, they shut him up in a kind of chest stuck with nails, having their points inwards, in which condition they let him die with hunger and pain. By way of reprisal, the Roman senate delivered up the chief of the Carthaginian prisoners to Marcia, Regulus's widow, who made them suffer the same torments.

The Carthaginians get into the harbour of Lilybæum with a reinforcement of ten thousand men, in spite of the Romans, whose fleet lay at the mouth. Himilco, governor of the town, sallied out, and set fire to their engines: upon which, they were obliged to change their siege into a blockade, and would have been forced to raise it for want of provisions, had not Hiero, that faithful ally of the republic, sent them a timely supply.

504.

The battle of Drepanum.

Sea-fight off Drepanum (*g*), within six leagues of Lilybæum, in which Adherbal defeats the consul Claudius. Out of a hundred and twenty gallies, that composed the Roman fleet, the consul brought back but thirty, which saved themselves by flight; the rest were either sunk or taken by the enemy. Claudius had all the failings, without any of the good qualities of his ancestors; during his consulate, he behaved with presumption, temerity, and irreligion. The augurs having acquainted him before the engagement, that the gods did not seem to approve of his resolution, because the sacred chicken refused to feed: *well*, said he, throwing them in the sea, *if they will not eat, let them drink*. The senate oblige him to name a dictator, and he, out of derision, as it were, appoints his client, Claudius Glycias, a man of base extraction, who is immediately forced to abdicate, and M. Attilius

(*f*) It had a very good harbour, and was situate near a promontory of the same name, now called *Capo di Marsalla*.

(*g*) A town of Sicily, so called from *δρεπανον*, *falx*, because of its being bent like a sculchion; its present name is *Trapani*.



CONSULS.	Y. of Rome.	Y. bef. J. C.	Eminent and learned men.	Contemporary princes.
Spurius Carvilius Maximus.			Cato (Marcus) son of the preceding, died before his father.	mong those who were put to death, particular notice is taken of Eleazar, a venerable old man, and seven brothers, who suffered martyrdom, together with their mother.
Q. Fabius Maximus Verrucosus.	520	234	He wrote some commentaries on the civil law.	The taking of Jerusalem happened the year 170
M. Pomponius Matho.			Ennius (Quintus) born at Rudia (e) a town in Calabria, the year of Rome 515, died at seventy years of age.	Judas Maccabæus, son of Mattathias, of the family of the Asmonæans, is chosen commander of all the forces of the Jewish nation, 166
M. Emilius Lepidus.	521	233	By his reputation he acquired the freedom of Rome. And in the opinion of Lucretius, he is the first among the Latins that obtained an immortal crown on mount Parnassus.	With the assistance of his brothers, John, Simon, Eleazar, and Jonathan, he restores the affairs of the Jews, 164
M. Publicius Malleolus.			— <i>primus amœno Detulit ex Helicone perenni fronde coronam, Per gentes Italas.</i>	Jonathan succeeds his brother Judas Maccabæus, in 161
Marc. Pomponius Matho. 2 <sup>o</sup> .	522	232	He wrote only the annals of the republic in verse, the victories of the elder Scipio Africanus, and some satyres.	<i>Kings of Egypt.</i> Ptolemy Philadelphus, 246
Caius Papirius Maso.			Livius Andronicus, the first among the Latins, that applied himself to poetry.	Ptolemy Euergetes, 221
M. Emilius Barbula.	523	231	It is said that he was the slave of Livius Salinator, who gave him his name together with his liberty, in recompence for the care he had taken in the education of his daughters; for it was customary with the	Ptolemy Philopator, 204
Marcus Junius Pera.			(e) Silius says of it, <i>nunc Rudia solo memorabile nomen alumno</i> : it is now called Carvigna.	Ptolemy Epiphanes, 180
Lucius Posthumus Albinus. 2 <sup>o</sup> .	524	230		Ptolemy Philometor, <i>Kings of Syria.</i> Antiochus II. surnamed <i>the god</i> (Θεός) 247
Cneus Fulvius Centumalus.				Seleucus II. surnamed <i>Callinicus</i> , 217
Spurius Carvilius Maximus. 2 <sup>o</sup> .	525	229		Seleucus III. surnamed <i>Ceraurus</i> , 224
Q. Fabius Maximus Verrucosus. 2 <sup>o</sup> .				Antiochus the Great, 187
P. Valerius Flaccus.	526	228		Seleucus IV, surnamed <i>Philopator</i> , 176
M. Attilius Regulus.				Antiochus Epiphanes, 165
M. Valerius Messala.	527	227		Antiochus Eupator, under the guardianship of Lysias, till the year 162
L. Apulius Fullo.				
L. Emilius Papus.	528	226		
C. Attilius Regulus.				
T. Manlius Torquatus. 2 <sup>o</sup> .	529	225		
Quint. Fulvius Flaccus. 2 <sup>o</sup> .				
C. Flaminius Nepos.	530	224		
P. Furius Philus.				
Cneus Cornelius Scipio Calvinus.	531	223		
M. Claudius Marcellus.				
P. Cornelius Scipio Afina.	532	222		
T. Minucius Rufus.				
L. Veturius Philo.	533	221		
C. Lutatius Catulus.				
In the room of those two consuls were substituted				
M. Emilius Lepidus.				
Marcus Valerius Lavinius.				
M. Livius Salinator.	534	220		
L. Emilius Paulus.				
P. Cornelius Scipio.	535	219		
Tiberius				

Calatinus is substituted in his place. This was the first dictator that ever exercised his office out of Italy. As a mark of respect for the supreme dignity, with which Glycias had been invested with form, the senate gave him leave to wear the robe bordered with purple, both in the theatre and the circus. Historians do not mention what punishment was inflicted on Claudius.

The Roman fleet destroyed. The conduct of his colleague Junius was not more prudent: he suffered, through his own fault, one of the finest fleets that the Romans had hitherto fitted out, to be entirely destroyed: the Roman ships were dashed by a tempest against the rocks, among which the consul had taken shelter, to avoid coming to an engagement with Adherbal. Hereupon the Romans once more renounce all naval armaments.

The siege of Lilybæum did not advance much this year; the reason is obvious.

505.

Things continued upon the same foot this year; the Romans saw they had to deal with the ablest captain that Carthage had hitherto produced; this was Hamilcar, father of the celebrated Hannibal, whose military merit was surpassed only by that of his son.

It is supposed, that much about this time they began to admit plebeian virgins into the college of vestals; this was a consequence of the advantage the plebeians had lately obtained, of having a *pontifex maximus* chosen out of their order.

506.

The republic permits her subjects to fit out private ships of war, and grants them all the plunder upon their cruize; by which means the enemy is distressed without exhausting the public treasury, which was too much emptied already. It was somewhat recruited by the ransom, which the Carthaginians paid for a great number of prisoners; the rest were exchanged, man for man, for Roman captives. The siege of Lilybæum, where Metellus commanded, continues in the same state, and Fabius begins that of Drepanum.

New colonies settled, the one at Æsulum (b) in Hetruria, the other at Alsum (i) in Umbria.

A census was taken this year, when it appeared, that there were only two hundred and fifty one thousand two hundred and twenty two citizens able to bear arms: this diminution was owing to the war and the many shipwrecks.

(b) Æsulum and Æsula was a town of Latium, and not Hetruria, situate on a hill between Tibur and Praeneste, and mentioned by Horace, lib. 3. od. 29.

*Ne semper udum Tibur, & Æsulæ declivæ contempleris aruum.*

Pliny says there were no vestiges of it in his time.

(i) Alsum was a town of Hetruria, and not of Umbria, on the sea coast, eighteen miles from *Portus Augusti* or *Porto*, which is the distance to the mouth of the river *Aro*, that runs out of the *Lacus Sabatinus*, now called *Lago di Bracciano*. It is at present a castle, known by the name of *Pale*.



CONSULS.	Y. of Rome.	Y. bef. J. C.	Eminent and learned men.	Contemporary princes.
Tiberius Sempronius Longus. Cn. Servilius Geminus. Caius Flaminius Nepos. <i>In the room of the latter was substituted Caius Attilius Regulus. 2°.</i> L. Emilius Paulus. 2°. C. Terentius Varro. Q. Fabius Maximus Verrucosus. 3°. Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus. Q. Fabius Maximus Verrucosus. 4°. M. Claudius Marcellus. 2°. Q. Fabius Maximus. Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus. 2°. Q. Fulvius Flaccus. 3°. App. Claudius Pulcher. Caius Fulvius Centumalus. P. Sulpicius Galba Maximus. M. Valerius Laevinus. 2°. M. Claudius Marcellus. 3°. Q. Fabius Maximus Verrucosus. 5°. Quint. Fulvius Flaccus. 4°. M. Claudius Marcellus. 4°. T. Quint. Crispinus. C. Claudius Nero. M. Livius Salinator. 2°. L. Veturius Philo. Q. Cæcilius Metellus. P. Cornelius Scipio. P. Licinius Crassus. P. Sempronius Tuditanus. M. Cornelius Cethegus. Cn. Servilius Cæpio. C. Servilius Geminus. T. Claudius Nero. M. Ser-	536    537  538  539  540  541  542  543  544  545  546  547  548  549  550  551	218    217  216  215  214  213  212  211  210  209  208  207  206  205  204  203	Romans to entrust some favourite slave with the education of their children. The first tragedies, or comedies, that appeared at Rome, were composed by Livius Andronicus, or rather he copied them from the Greeks. They were exhibited the first time the year 513, or 14, of the foundation of this city; and they went down with the people at that time for want of better. Yet this same poet (merely upon the account of his antiquity) had zealous admirers even in the middle of the Augustan age, who would not suffer the least fault to be found with his works. Horace censures this taste in one of his epistles: <i>Non equidem inspector, delendaque carmina Liui</i> <i>Esse rer, memini quæ plagosum mihi paruo</i> <i>Orbilium distare: sed emendata videri,</i> <i>Pulchraque, et exactis minimum distantia, miror.</i> Nævius (Cneus) died the year of Rome 551 He was both a poet and historian. It is not certain in what year he exhibited the first of his comedies. The satyrical touches, with which they abounded, were the cause of his being driven from Rome, and he went to live	Demetrius Soter. <i>Kings of Macedonia.</i> Antigonus Gonatas, 243 Demetrius II. 232 Antigonus Doson, 220 Phillip, 179 Perseus conquered by the Romans in 169, died in 165 Soon after this, the kingdom of Macedonia is reduced to a Roman province. <i>Kings of Sparta.</i> <i>Branch of Euristhenes.</i> Cleombrotus, 239 Leonidas, restored till the year 238 Cleomenes III. is obliged to fly away in 222 Hercules's race ends at Sparta. Machanidas, a tyrant, killed by Philopemen, in 206 Nabis, a tyrant, killed in 206 The Romans restore the Spartans to their liberty in 185 <i>Athens continues to be governed by annual archons.</i> <i>Kings of Pontus.</i> Ariobarzanes II. <i>The names of the two following kings are not known.</i> Mithridates IV. 183 Pharnaces, 157 Mithridates V. or Energetes.  <i>Kings</i>

507.

Claudia punished for treasonable words against the people.

This campaign produced nothing remarkable; but at Rome there happened a very extraordinary adventure. Claudia, the sister of that Claudius Pulcher, whose temerity had cost the lives of such a number of Roman citizens a few years before, finding herself one day incommode with the throng, as she was returning from a public show, was heard to say, with a loud voice; *Ah! if my brother was alive, and still commanded the army, I should not be pressed in this manner by the crowd!* They might readily have forgiven her this piece of satyrical wit, if it had been only directed against the memory of her brother; but it was, at the same time, a stroke of contempt against the people; for which she was obliged to appear before the tribes, as guilty of treason, and condemned in a considerable fine, which was laid out in building a chapel, dedicated to Liberty.

508.

Hamilcar finds means to supply Lilybæum with fresh provisions. The Roman fleet, that had been fitted out by private people at their own expence, obtains a considerable victory over the Carthaginians on the coast of Africa; but had the misfortune, in its return, of being dashed in pieces against the rocks of Libya. Colony sent to Fregellæ (k), a city of Hetruria.

509.

Hamilcar takes Eryx.

Hamilcar makes himself master of Eryx (l), a strong city, situate on the declivity of a mountain of the same name. The Romans raise the siege of Drepanum, in order to apply themselves intirely to that of Lilybæum, and to recover Eryx, but all to no purpose.

L. Cæcilius Metellus, an illustrious plebeian, succeeds to Tiberius Coruncanius in the supreme pontificate.

510.

A new fleet fitted out at the expence of private citizens, which far excelled in strength and goodness all the former armaments; being composed of two hundred quinqueremes, built upon the model of an excellent galley heretofore taken from the Carthaginians. This fleet was designed for the service of the republic, who undertook to reimburse the private persons, and faithfully performed her engagement.

(k) This is a mistake owing to a passage in Pliny, where Cluverius has substituted *Fregenæ*, instead of the common reading *Fregellæ*. The latter was not in Hetruria, but in *Latium adjectum*, and had been a colony some time before; whereas *Fregenæ* was in Hetruria, near the mouth of the Tiber, and half way between Alsum and Portus; it is now a village called *La Macarese*.

(l) Famous for the temple of Venus Erycina mentioned by Virgil, *Æn.* 5.

*Tum vicina astris Erycinæ in vertice sedes  
Fundatur Veneri Idaliæ.*



CONSULS.	Y. of Rome.	Y. bef. Y. C.	Eminent and learned men.	Cotemporary princes.
M. Servilius Pulex Geminus.			live at Utica. Ho-	<i>Kings of Bitbynia.</i>
Cn. Cornelius Lentulus.	552	202	race takes notice that	Nicomedes I. 246
Publius Ælius Pætus.			in his time they used	Zelas, 230
P. Sulpicius Galba	553	201	to learn Nævius's	Prusias I. 190
Maximus, 2 <sup>o</sup> .			works by heart, so	Prusias II.
C. Aurelius Cotta.			high an idea had they	<i>Kings of Pergamus.</i>
L. Cornelius Lentulus.	554	200	of all ancient poems.	This kingdom was
P. Villius Tappulus.			<i>Nævius in manibus</i>	in some measure erect-
T. Quintius Flaminius.	555	199	<i>non est, &amp; mentibus hæ-</i>	ed the year 282 before
Sextus Ælius Pætus			<i>ret</i>	Christ, under the go-
Catus.			<i>Pene recens: adeo</i>	vernment of Philæte-
C. Cornelius Cethegus.	556	198	<i>sanctum est vetus omne</i>	rus and Eumenes. But
Q. Minucius Rufus.			<i>poema.</i>	it is usual to reckon
L. Furius Purpureo.	557	197	Plautus (Marcus	Attalus the first king;
M. Claudius Marcel-			Actius Plautus) died at	who sat on the throne
lus.			Rome, the year of the	from the year 241, to
L. Valerius Flaccus.	558	196	foundation 569	the year 197
Marcus Porcius Cato.			His comedies were	Eumenes I. 159
Publius Cornelius Sci-	559	195	long admired by the	Eumenes II. 158
pio. 2 <sup>o</sup> .			Romans. But Horace	Attalus Philadelphus.
T. Sempronius Longus.			is angry with them up-	<i>Kings of the Parthians.</i>
L. Cornelius Merula.	560	194	on this account. "Our	The kingdom of the
Q. Minucius Thermus.			"ancestors, he says in	Parthians had a very
L. Quintius Flaminius.	561	193	"his art of poetry,	weak, and of course ob-
Cn. Domitius Æno-			"were extremely fond	scure beginning. Par-
barbus.			"of the verses and	thia, properly so call-
Pub. Cornelius Scipio	562	192	"jests of Plautus:	ed, was a barren coun-
Nasica.			"they were so pati-	try; but the inhabi-
M. Acilius Glabrio.			"ent, nay, I may	tants were hardy,
L. Cornelius Scipio.	563	191	"say, so stupid as to	stout, warlike, and
Caius Lælius Nepos.			"listen to them with	indefatigable; and this
M. Fulvius Nobilior.	564	190	"admiration."	was enough to render
Cn. Manlius Vulso.			<i>At nostri proavi Plau-</i>	them a powerful peo-
M. Valerius Messala.	565	189	<i>tinus &amp; nuneos &amp;</i>	ple. Accordingly they
C. Livius Salinator.			<i>Laudavere sales: ni-</i>	became such, and were
M. Æmilius Lepidus.	566	188	<i>mium patienter utrumque,</i>	able to dispute the east-
C. Flaminius Nepos.			<i>Nedicam stulte mirati.</i>	ern empire with the
Spurius Posthumius	567	187	On the other hand,	Romans. The king-
Albinus.			the learned Varro used	dom of Parthia was
Quintus Marcius Phi-			to say, that if the mu-	founded by Arsaces,
lippus.			ses would speak in any	who transmitted the
Appius Claudius Pul-	568	186	human language, they	name of Arsacidæ to
cher.			would borrow that of	his successors.
Marcus Sempronius			Plautus. By moderat-	Arsaces I. mounts
Tuditanus.			ing the too great se-	the throne towards the
P. Claudius Pulcher.	569	185	verity of one of these	year 256 before Christ,
L. Porcius Licinius.			judgments, and the	and reigned till 253
M. Claudius Marcel-	570	184	partiality of the other,	Arsaces II. otherwise
lus.			we shall obtain a right	called <i>Tyridates</i> , 216
Q. Fa-			decision in regard to	Artabanus, 196
			the merit of this an-	Phriapatius, 181
			cient comic poet, who	Phraates, 173
			was	Mithridates I.



A prætor  
peregrinus  
created.

The pōntifex maximus, Metellus, having forbid the consul Posthumius to exercise any military function, because of his being at that time high priest of Mars, a second prætor was created on this occasion, to serve as assistant to the consul Lutatius; and this office was conferred on Valerius Falto. From that time, the office of prætor was divided between two: one called the *prætor urbanus*, had the power of determining causes between the Roman citizens; the other with the title of *prætor peregrinus*, tried causes between citizens and foreigners.

Battle of the  
Ægades.

The time was now come that determined the fate of Sicily. The Carthaginians had fitted out a fleet of four hundred ships; which soon came in sight of the Romans. Battle of the Ægades (m). Lutatius had to fight against the winds, the waves, and a formidable enemy; but the courage of his troops, the lightness of his galleys, and the goodness of his seamen, overcame all obstacles: fifty of the Carthaginian vessels were sunk, seventy taken, and the remainder dispersed.

Peace con-  
cluded be-  
tween Rome  
and Car-  
thage.

Hannibal, finding himself hard pressed in Eryx, receives full powers from his republic to treat of peace, which is concluded upon the following conditions. "That the Carthaginians shall evacuate Lilybæum, Drepanum, Eryx, and resign the island of Sicily intirely to the Romans. That they shall give up all the islands situate between Italy and Sicily, restore the Roman prisoners without ransom, pay a considerable sum to defray the expences of the war, and not commit any hostilities against Hiero, king of Syracuse, or his allies." Lutatius continues in Sicily with the title of proconsul; and Valerius with that of proprætor to regulate the government of Sicily: the following year, they both received triumphal honours, notwithstanding the representations of Lutatius, who pretended that this honour could not be granted to a subaltern.

Sicily made  
a Roman  
province.

The treaty of peace betwixt Rome and Carthage, is ratified by a solemn sacrifice, and by the oaths of the two nations. By this treaty, that part of Sicily, which had been subject to the Carthaginians, became a Roman province, *omnium nationum exterarum princeps Sicilia provincia est appellata*, says Tully in his third oration against Verres: thus we find that the Romans gave the name of provinces only to the countries conquered out of Italy. They sent a prætor to administer justice in the island, and to command the army; with a quaestor to receive the revenues.

(m) The right reading is *Ægates insulæ*, as appears by the authority of the best writers, and the quantity of the second syllable, which is long, as in Sil. lib. 4. *Ægates inter castra jacet obruta ponto*. They are three small islands on the coast of Sicily, opposite to the promontory of Lilybæum.



CONSULS	No. of Rome,	P. bef. J. C.	Eminent and Learned men.
Q. Fabius Laeco. Cneus Naebius Tam- philus.	571	183	was certainly a worthy forerunner of Terence.
L. Emilius Paulus. P. Cornelius Cethegus. Marcus Bibulus Tam- philus.	572	182	Publius Mucius Scæ- vola, consul the year of Rome 578
Aulus Posthumius Al- binus.	573	181	The 29th paragraph in the 2d law of the digest, <i>de origine juris</i> , informs us that he had written books upon the civil law.
C. Calpurnius Piso. <i>In the room of the latter was substituted</i> Q. Fulvius Flaccus. L. Manlius Acidius Fulvianus.	574	180	Sextus Ælius Pætus Catus, a Roman civi- lian, was curule ædile, the year of Rome 553
Q. Fulvius Flaccus. M. Junius Brutus. Aulus Manlius Vulso.	575	179	He wrote a book on the civil law, intitled the <i>Tripartites</i> , and till
Gaius Claudius Pul- cher. Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus.	576	178	lately it had been very much doubted, whe- ther this book was not the same thing as
Cneus Cornelius Scipio Hispalus. Q. Petillius Spurlus. <i>In the room of Cor- nelius Scipio was sub- stituted</i>	577	177	the Ælian law. But M. Teraſſon, in his history of the Roman laws, has cleared up this matter, by ob- serving that the 2d law, §. 28. in the
C. Valerius Lævinus. P. Mucius Scævola. Marcus Emilius Lepi- dus. 2 <sup>o</sup> .	578	176	Digest, <i>de origine juris</i> , seems to prove suffi- ciently, that the <i>formu- la</i> were comprized in
Sporlus Posthumius Albinus.	579	175	Ælius's <i>Tripartites</i> , of which they consti- tuted a part. And, in- deed, Pomponius, the
Quintus Mucius Scæ- vola. Lucius Posthumius Al- binus.	580	174	civilian, says expressly in regard to this law, that in his time they
M. Popilius Lænas. Publius Ælius Ligur.	581	173	had Sextus Ælius's book, entitled the <i>Tri- partites</i> , because it
C. Popilius Lænas. P. Licinius Crassus. Gaius Cassius Longinus.	582	172	comprized the law of the twelve tables, the interpretation of that
Aulus Hostilius Man- cinus. A. Attilius Serranus. Quintus Marcius Phi- lippus. 2 <sup>o</sup> .	583	171	law, and the formulæ.
Cn. Servilius Cæpio. Lucius Emilius Paulus. 2 <sup>o</sup> .	584	170	Terence (Publius Te- rentius) a comic Latin poet, was born at Car- thage, and died the
C. Licinius Crassus. Quint.	585	169	year of Rome 575 He

The Falisci  
subdued.

The Falisci having revolted, the consuls defeat them in two pitched battles, and quell the rebellion: the Romans were inclined in the beginning to punish them with slavery; but, at length, they were satisfied with disarming them, and confiscating one half of their lands, because, instead of surrendering at discretion, they had capitulated with the consuls.

The city of Rome is greatly damaged by an inundation, and by fire. Cæcilius Metellus, pontifex maximus, had the courage to make his way through the flames, and to rescue the palladium that was kept in the temple of Vesta: he lost his sight by it, and one of his arms was greatly burnt. As a reward for so heroic and religious an action, he was allowed to be drawn to the senate-house in a chariot; a privilege hitherto granted to no man.

Two new tribes created, which made thirty five in all: and this number was never afterwards increased. At a census this year, there appeared to be only two hundred and sixty thousand citizens.

513.

Colony sent to Spoletium (n), a considerable city of Umbria. The poet Livius Andronicus (o) begins to exhibit regular tragedies and comedies at Rome, in imitation of the Greeks.

(n) Florus, lib. 3. calls it one of the chief *municipia* in Italy; it still retains the name of *Spoletum*, and is subject to the pope.

(o) Tragedy and comedy were entertainments of Greek invention. The theatrical representations of the Romans were of two sorts, *palliata* and *togata*; the former were so called, because the actors were supposed to be Greeks, and dressed after the fashion of that country; the latter were supposed to be Romans, and took their name from the Roman dress. These were subdivided into *prætextata*, when the persons were supposed to be of high rank, from the habit *prætexta*; *tabernaria*, when the actors were supposed to be mean people, from *tabernæ*, low ordinary buildings, which were represented on the stage; and *trabeata*, when the *dramatis personæ* were some of the principal officers, *trabea* being the consuls military habit. The *Atellana* were farces of drollery, from Atella, a town in Campania, where they were first invented. Tragedians wore the *coturnus*, a kind of shoe coming over the calf of the leg, with a high heel, that might seem above the ordinary size. Comedians wore the *focci*, which was a kind of slight covering for the feet, to denote the meanness of the persons they represented. The players wore a *persona* or mask, so called from *persone*, to sound through, because being left open at the mouth, the voice by contracting became clearer and fuller. The *chorus* represented those persons who were present where the affair is said to have happened. During the whole representation of a comedy, the performers of the music played on two flutes, called *tibiæ*. That which they stopped with their right hand, they called *dextra*, *right banded*; and this having but few holes, gave a deep sound: that which they stopped with their left, they stiled *sinistra*, or *left banded*; which having a great number of holes, gave a shriller sound. When they played on two flutes of a different sound, the piece was said to be performed *tibiis imparibus*, or *tibiis dextris & sinistris*; if they played on two flutes of the same sound, the music was then said to be performed *tibiis paribus dextris*, or *tibiis paribus sinistris*. Two *tibiæ pares dextræ* had the name of *Lydiæ*; two *tibiæ pares sinistræ* were called *Sarranæ* or *Tyriæ*; two *tibiæ impares* were stiled *Phrygiæ*, all from an imitation of the music of those provinces.



CONSULS.	Y. of Rome.	Y. bef. J. C.	Eminent and learned men.
Quint. Ælius Pætus, Marcus Junius Pennus, M. Claudius Marcellus.	586	168	He resembled Livius Andronicus in this respect, that he was a slave at Rome, and enfranchised by his master, who likewise gave him his name, on account of his merit and abilities. He was greatly superior to Plautus, and yet his plays were not so much applauded at that time. The low drollery of Plautus was more taking with the people, than the beauties and elegant touches of Terence. The six comedies of this author, were translated into French by Madam Dacier.
C. Sulpicius Gallus; Titus Manlius Torquatus.	587	167	
Cn. Octavius Nepos. Quint. Cassius Longinus.	588	166	
Aulus Manlius Torquatus.	589	165	
Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus. 2 <sup>o</sup> . Manius Juventius Thalna.	590	164	
Publius Cornelius Scipio Nasica.	591	163	
C. Marcius Figulus. M. Valerius Messala.	592	162	
C. Fannius Strabo. L. Anicius Gallus.	593	161	
M. Cornelius Cethegus.	594	160	
Cn. Cornelius Dolabella.	595	159	
Marcus Fulvius Nobilior.	596	158	
M. Emilius Lepidus. C. Popilius Lænas.	597	157	
Sextus Julius Cæsar. L. Aurelius Orestes.	598	156	
L. Cornelius Lentulus Lupus. Caius Marcius Figulus. 2 <sup>o</sup> .	599	155	
P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica. 2 <sup>o</sup> . M. Claudius Marcellus. 1 <sup>o</sup> .	600	154	
Q. Opimius Nepos. Lucius Posthumus Albinus, <i>In the room of the latter was substituted</i> M. Acilius Glabrio. Q. Fulvius Nobilior. T. Annius Luscus.			

Floral  
games.

Institution or renewal of the Floral games (*p*), the design of which was to beg the blessing of the gods on the fruits of the earth. These games were celebrated with such indecency and lewdness, that the sage Cato left the theatre one day as they were going to begin, lest he should defile his eyes.

514.

This year is remarkable for the birth of the poet Ennius. Though a Greek by birth, yet he was the first that invented hexameter verse in Latin. Father Caton conjectures that the relish the Romans began to conceive for poetry, was owing to the play they made in Sicily, where this art had been long in a flourishing condition.

War between the Carthaginians and the mercenaries, whom the former had employed against the Romans. The rebels offered to put the Romans in possession of Utica, one of the principal towns belonging to the Carthaginians, with which they kept a correspondence; and to deliver up the island of Sardinia, of which they had made themselves masters; but their offers were rejected. Such a conduct, steadily pursued, would have done more honour to the Romans, than the winning of a hundred battles.

515.

But the Roman policy found out another way to make sure of Sardinia. The mercenaries had been lately reduced by Hamilcar, by which means Sardinia was restored to the Carthaginians. Sempronius, at the head of a consular army, had orders from the senate, to insist upon their relinquishing that island to the Romans, as belonging to them by right of conquest, and to defray the charges of this armament: upon which they were obliged to submit to what the consul demanded.

War against  
the Boii and  
Ligurians.

War against the Gauls called Boii, and the Ligurians. Valerius marches against the Boii, and fights two battles with them, in the former of which he is defeated, but obtains a complete victory in the latter. Sempronius gained a battle, though not a decisive one, against the Ligurians (*p*), a nation that extended from the south side of the Apennine, as far as the river Arnus.

516.

The Ligu-  
rians defeat-  
ed.

These wars continued this and the following year to the disadvantage of the Ligurians, who are said to have lost nine and twenty thousand men in an engagement with the consul Cornelius. The Gauls defended themselves somewhat better; but a quarrel breaking

(*p*) Sacred to Flora, a Sabine goddess; they appear to have been instituted, *ex quaestu meretricio*, according to the vulgar opinion, but with the fines of many persons convicted of the *crimen peculatus*. They were celebrated the 28th of April.

(*p*) Liguria, properly so called, was bounded on the east by the river *Macra*, now the *Magra*, on the west by the *Varus*, on the south by the *Ligurian sea*, and on the north by the *Po*.



out between them and their auxiliary troops, the Transalpine Gauls, they were obliged to sue for peace.

517.

Expedition of the consul Varus against Corsica, which had been induced to rebel, by the secret intrigues of the Carthaginians. Before he departed, he sent a Squadron to that island, under the command of Claudius Glycias, the same man, who from an abject condition, had been raised to the dictatorship by the extravagant whimsy of his patron Claudius. Glycias thinking it would be much to his honour to put an end to the war, patches up a shameful peace. The consul paying no regard to the treaty, reduces the Corsicans by force of arms. Glycias is delivered up to those islanders, as having drawn them into a fatal war by a fallacious peace; but they sent him to Rome, where he was strangled in prison (p). Corsica subdued.

To this period we may refer the secular games (q), so called because they were held exactly once an age. In process of time, the emperors, who had the Sibylline oracles at their command, made them return before their ordinary course, just as their fancy directed; so that the people publicly scoffed the cryers, who, according to the ancient custom, went about proclaiming games, that nobody had ever seen, nor would see again. They lasted three days, the first of which was set aside for the consuls and the Sibylline priests, the second for the noble matrons, and the third for young boys and girls. During this whole time they made processions, offered up sacrifices, gave repasts in honour of the gods, and shows of every kind to the people. Secular games.

518.

Disturbances in Sardinia, fomented by the Carthaginians, and appeased by Manlius.

Carthage, alarmed at the military preparations, which the Romans were making in order to punish her perfidy, sends several ambassadors one after another, to desire a continuance of the peace, which she obtained not without some difficulty.

The temple of Janus is shut for the first time since the reign of Numa, by whom it was built. The temple of Janus shut.

(p) His body was carried to the top of the *Scala Gemonia*, and after having been exposed for some time to public view, according to the custom observed in regard to those who died by the hands of the executioner, was dragged from thence by an iron hook, and thrown into the Tiber. The *Scala Gemonia* was a place on the hill *Montemars*, to which there were several steps leading, and is supposed to have derived its name from *gemere*, to groan, because of the groans of the malefactors.

(q) They owed their original to those sacred writings, in which there was a prophecy, that if the Romans should hold solemn games at the beginning of every month in the *Campus Martius*, in honour of Pluto, Proserpine, Juno, Apollo, Diana, Ceres, and the *Parcae*, their city should enjoy perpetual prosperity, and their empire be extended to the remotest limits. In the times of the commonwealth, these games were probably celebrated in the 9, 10, 11, *kal. Maii*. See Dacier on Horace's *Carmen Saeculare*.

519.



519.

It was opened in a few months, and not shut again till the reign of Augustus. The Romans had very little time to taste the sweets of peace; for it was soon interrupted out of Italy by the Corsicans and Sardinians; in Italy by the Ligurians. These three wars were terminated in a short time, but in appearance only.

Survey of the people. History does not tell us what number of citizens there appeared to be at this census. It is reasonably conjectured that they were considerably diminished, because the censor obliged all young people to take an oath that they would marry entirely with a view to increase the subjects of the republic.

The vestal Tatia is condemned to be buried alive for an intrigue with a slave: but she prevents the execution of the sentence, by laying violent hands upon herself.

The poet Nævius exhibits his theatrical performances: he had served in the first Punic war.

520.

New commotions in Sardinia and Liguria; Pomponius is sent to make war with the former, and Fabius with the latter. History takes no notice of Pomponius's exploits, yet we may form a judgment thereof by his having a triumph granted him. Fabius also obtained this honour by driving the Ligurians out of the plain country, and obliging them to retire among the Alps; this was the first essay of a man who was one day to merit, by his personal services, the surname of Maximus, which he had received from his ancestors.

Misunderstanding between Rome and Carthage. The Romans send an embassy to the Carthaginians, under pretence of demanding the sums due in consequence of the last treaty; but it was rather to sound their sentiments. The ambassadors accordingly perceived that the dispositions of the Carthaginians were very much changed, since Hamilcar, after restoring tranquillity in Africa, had extended their dominion in Spain by repeated successes; and there was full room to think that they would not hesitate to declare war upon the first occasion.

The centumviri.

Institution of the *centumviri*, so called, though there were a hundred and five of them, three out of each tribe. The business of those new judges was to hear and decide all questions of right: the increase of the courts of justice was become necessary, in proportion as the subjects of the republic increased. The number of centumviri was afterwards swelled to one hundred and eighty, but they still preserved the same name.

521.

Domestic broils.

Domestic broils concerning a law proposed by the tribune Flaminius, for distributing the lands of the Galli Senonenses. The senate opposed it with all their might, fearing lest a step of this nature should irritate the Gauls, who were still formidable to the Romans even after their defeat. The tribune did not gain his point at that time; but it was  
neither



neither the representations, nor the menaces of the senate that hindered him; it was his father, who, while the son was busy in haranguing the multitude, came and took him by the arm, pulled him down from the rostra, and made him hold his tongue: all this while not the least murmur was heard in the whole assembly; which shews what a great respect they had for paternal authority. But a tribune, whose name was Carvilius, afterwards joined Flaminius in reviving this law, and succeeded. The consuls go over to Corsica and Sardinia.

## 522.

It was reserved for their successors to make a complete conquest of those two islands; which were reduced to the form of Roman provinces, upon the same footing as Sicily. Papirius triumphed upon the hill of Alba, although the senate had refused him this honour. He entered the temple of Jupiter Latialis with the same pomp as if he had been marching to the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus; an example that was afterwards followed by a great many generals.

Corsica and Sardinia made Roman provinces.

The first divorce at Rome. Spurius Carvilius Ruga parts with his wife because of her sterility, thinking himself bound so to do by the oath which he and the rest had taken, to marry only with a view of having children. Divorces were not forbidden at Rome; and yet there had been no instance of the kind before this of Carvilius, which rendered him universally odious, though he acted from a conscientious motive.

First divorce at Rome.

## 523.

The senate having sent ambassadors to Teuta, an Illyrian princess, who infested the Adriatic sea, and the coast of Greece, with her pirates; she causes the ambassadors to be murdered. The republic ordered statues to be erected to their memory, the usual way of honouring the manes of her ambassadors, who had been killed in the discharge of their function: but on this occasion the Romans went further, by revenging their death.

## 524.

War is declared against Teuta; and a fleet, with a large army, is sent to Illyricum (r), where the queen's affairs soon take a very bad turn, by means of Demetrius of Pharos, a famous Illyrian captain, who deserted to the Romans, in consequence of some offence given him at court.

War against the Illyrians.

## 525.

Teuta submits to such conditions as the Romans please to prescribe, which were very severe. She was only regent during the minority of her son Pinæus; but this mistake of the mother cost the young king, her son, a considerable part of his dominions. It was expressly mentioned in the treaty of peace, that the islands of Corcyra, Issa, Pha-

(r) *Illyricum* or *Illyria* is a country of Europe, opposite to Italy, bordering on Greece, having on the north Pannonia or Hungary, on the west Istria, on the east Macedon, and on the south the Adriatic; it includes the present Dalmatia and Slavonia.



ros (s), and several towns in Illyricum, should be yielded to the Romans, and that the king should pay an annual sum to the republic by way of tribute. Demetrius is made regent and guardian of Pinæus in the room of Teuta, and invested with the property of some cities by the Romans.

This expedition having secured the tranquillity of all Greece, by delivering it from the depredations of the Illyrians, the ambassadors sent to those parts, were well received. At Corinth, a public decree was passed, that the Romans should have a place at the Isthmian games; at Athens they had the freedom of the city given them, and they had the perpetual privilege of being admitted to the sacred mysteries of Eleusis (t).

Treaty between the Romans and Carthaginians. Hamilcar had been killed in battle, and was succeeded by his son-in-law Asdrubal, a worthy imitator of his father's military virtues: all Spain seemed likely to fall a prey to this new conqueror, who had lately built new Carthage, since called Carthagera, to serve as a place of arms, and to keep the whole country in awe. The Romans, apprehensive that the Carthaginians would grow too powerful, had recourse to a negotiation to stop their increase of dominion. It was agreed by the treaty above mentioned, that the Carthaginians should not carry the war beyond the river Iberus (u), and that they should not molest Saguntum, a city between the Iberus, and that part of Spain which belonged to the Carthaginians.

526.

Two new prætors are created, one for Sicily, the other for Sardinia and Corsica.

527.

War against  
the Gauls.

The time which the Romans had spent in apparent inaction since the Illyrian expedition, was employed in making military preparations against the Gauls. They had raised, on this occasion, an army of above two hundred thousand men; a mighty preparation, but answerable to the idea the Romans had conceived of that nation, and to the terror with which they had been struck by a pretended oracle of the Sibylline books, importing, *that the Gauls and Greeks should one day make themselves masters of Rome; Roman occupaturos*. Before any thing was undertaken, they endeavoured to appease the superstitious populace. An edict was therefore published by the decemviri, who had the care of the Sibylline books, commanding that two Gauls, a man and a woman; and two Greeks also, a man and a woman,

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(s) Those three islands are now called *Corfú*, *Lissa*, and *Lexina*.

(t) The *Eleusina sacra*, sacrifices to Ceres, performed by the Athenians, in the most secret and solemn manner, were so called from Eleusis, a town in Africa, built by Triptolemus, who learnt of Ceres to sow corn.

(u) A river of Castile, now called the Ebro, which falleth into the Mediterranean, not far from Tortosa.

should



should be buried alive in the market place; and by this they pretended that the oracle was fulfilled.

The displeasure of the Gauls was owing to the division of the lands of the Senonenses, as the senate had foreseen; and we may judge whether this displeasure was not greatly heightened by the cruel action above mentioned. The Senonenses were joined by the Boii, inhabitants of this side of the Po; and by the Insubres (x), who inhabited the country on the other side of this river, and whose capital was Mediolanum. The Veneti (y), and the Cenomani (z), sided with the Romans; but the Gauls engaged the Gæsatæ beyond the Alps, a people who were ready to fight for any nation that would hire them.

528.

These troops had passed the Alps, and after joining the other Gauls, had taken the road through Etruria to Rome, when a prætor, whose name is not mentioned in history, went to meet them at the head of fifty thousand men. The battle of Clusium, where the Roman army is defeated. The Gauls turned back into Insubria, in order to secure the booty they had taken in Etruria, before they would venture a second battle; but the good fortune of the Romans would have it that the two consuls, marching different ways, came up time enough to intercept the enemy under the walls of Telamon, a little port in Etruria (a). Attilius took them in front, and Æmilius in the rear; so that the Gauls were utterly defeated. It is generally thought that their overthrow was owing chiefly to the imprudence of the Gæsatæ in stripping themselves before the action, for fear of entangling their cloaths in the brambles and bushes. Being exposed almost naked, in the first file, to the Romans, multitudes of them were slain in the beginning of the attack; the rest fell back upon the next line, and occasioned some confusion; upon which the Roman cavalry broke in upon their ranks, and made a terrible slaughter. Out of seventy thousand combatants which composed the army of the Gauls, forty thousand were left dead on the spot, above ten thousand were taken prisoners, and the remainder made their escape. Aneroestus, one of their kings, killed himself through despair; the other, named Concolitanus, was among the prisoners, and served to decorate the triumphal pro-

The battle of Clusium,

The battle of Telamon in which the Gauls were defeated.

(x) The Galli Insubres inhabited that part of Italy now called Lombardy. *Mediolanum*, now Milan, is mentioned by Polybius as their chief city, *Μεδιόλανόν ἐστὶ κυρία-στατος τόπος τῆς τῶν Ἰσθμίων χώρας*. Ausonius mentions it *inter claras urbes*, *Et Mediolani mira omnia, copia rerum*.

(y) The *Veneti*, now the Venetians, were a people of Cisalpine Gaul, to whom belonged the towns of Patavium, Vicentia, Ateste, Forum Allieni, Tarvisum, Ceneta, Aquileia, Forum Julii, and Targeste near the river *Formio*, now *Il Risano*; their modern names are Padua, Vicenza, Este, Ferrara, Treviso, Ceneda, Aquileia, Civita di Friuli, and Trieste.

(z) The *Cenomani* were a people of Gallia Cisalpina, who inhabited the towns of Brixia, Cremona, Mantua and Verona.

(a) It still retains the name of Telamone.



cession of Æmilius, who reaped alone (for Attilius his colleague was killed in the action) the fruits of so glorious a victory, one of the most important that had been ever gained by the Romans. Florus says that the Gauls had made a vow not to quit their belts, till they got to the capitol: which was fulfilled; for Æmilius suffered them to appear in their belts, till they came to that part of the city, and there they were taken from them, amidst the hisses of the people.

529.

The Boii surrender at discretion.

530.

**War against the Insubres.** The Roman armies having passed the Po, with the loss of a great number of men, marched against the Insubrians. **The battle of the Ad-dua (b),** gained by the consul Flaminius. Furius refused to have any share in the action, for fear of offending the senate, who had recalled the consuls to Rome, in consequence of some answers given by the augurs. Flaminius takes the whole command upon himself, and penetrates into Insubria, where he makes himself master of several towns, and seizes on a considerable booty, which he distributes among the soldiers: this generous behaviour procured him a triumph, in spite of the senate, and screened him from the punishment he had incurred by his disobedience. Furius triumphed also; but immediately after this, both the consuls were obliged to abdicate, out of regard to the augurs; and the republic fell for some time into an interregnum.

531.

The Insubrians send a deputation to Rome to sue for peace; which was refused them by the advice of that great general Marcellus, whose particular fortune it was to subdue this warlike and active nation. Hearing of this, the Gæsatæ passed the Alps a second time, and found (c) Acerræ besieged by the Romans: to make a diversion, they passed the Po, and laid siege to Clastidium (d). Marcellus, desirous of coming to an engagement with those barbarians, quits his camp near Acerræ, and followed only by part of the army, goes and offers battle to the enemy. A single combat at the head of both armies between the consul and Viridomarus, king of the Gæsatæ. Marcellus slays his enemy with his lance, and strips him of his rich armour, by which, and by the tallness of his stature, he was distinguished from the rest of the troops. **The third spolia opima.** These were the third and the last *opima spolia* obtained by a Roman general: for after this, single combats between generals were laid aside. The death of king Viridomarus occasioned the defeat of

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(b) The *Addua*, now called *Adda*, riseth in the Alps, on the borders of Tyrol, and falleth into the Po, six miles from Cremona.

(c) It is now a village, called *Gberra*.

(d) A town of Liguria, between Placentia and Tortona, and now a village, called *Ghiasseto* or *Ghiassoggio*.



his army; and this brought on the reduction of the Insubrians. Acerræ surrenders; Mediolanum is besieged by Cornelius, and opens its gates upon the arrival of Marcellus. The Gæsatae being disheartened, retire into their own country; Insubria surrenders at discretion, and is reduced to the state of a Roman province, together with Liguria, under the name of Cisalpine Gaul: thus all Italy, from the Alps to the Ionian sea, received the Roman yoke.

Insubria and Liguria made a Roman province.

An extraordinary triumph is granted to Marcellus, and the *fasti capitolini* observe, that he triumphed for having conquered the Gauls and the Germans. This is the first time that mention is made of the Germans in the Roman history; and it is believed, that by this name we ought to understand the Gæsatae.

## 532.

Conquest of Istria. The inhabitants of this province, situate between Istria Gaul and Illyricum, had cruizers out at sea, that took some ships from the Romans; which was the cause of their destruction. For the republic only wanted a pretext at any time to declare war, and conquest generally followed her expeditions.

## 533.

This year was employed in works of peace, because the consuls were obliged to abdicate, on the account of some defect found in their election: those who were substituted in their room, had no time to undertake any thing.

The forty third *lustrum* preceded, according to custom, by a *census*, at which were reckoned two hundred and seventy thousand two hundred and fifteen citizens fit to bear arms.

The censors, after the example of Fabius Maximus, oblige all the *libertini* or freedmen, who were spread among the other tribes, where they occasioned great disturbances, to confine themselves to four tribes.

A circus was built this year, and a high road opened from Rome to Ariminum; both which works bear the name of the censor Flaminius, who presided over them.

## 534.

War in Illyricum with Demetrius of Pharos, who, in defiance of the Romans, to whom he owed great obligations, had ravaged the Illyrian cities subject to their jurisdiction. This prince fortified Dimalum (e), a city of importance in that country, intending it as a bulwark against the Romans: the town however was taken after a siege of seven days: the island of Pharos, to which he himself had retired, was also attacked; and the capital was taken, plundered, and razed to the ground. Demetrius made his escape to Macedon, to his friend Philip. It was the fate of the young king Pinæus, to suffer for the misconduct of his guardians. Teuta had been the cause of his losing part of his ter-

War against the Illyrians.

(e) Livy calls it *Dimallum*.



ritories; and now the revolt of Demetrius subjected him to a new tribute.

The consuls are accused before the tribes, of having converted to their own use, part of the spoils taken at Pharos; Æmilius is acquitted; but Livius Salinator is condemned by all the tribes, except the tribe Mæcia. So chagrined was he at this affront, that he retired to his country house, where he determined to spend his days in grief and sorrow.

Decree of the senate, ordering the demolition of all chapels that had been built at Rome by private people, in honour of the Ægyptian deities, Isis and Serapis. Not one mason or artificer would lend a hand towards executing this decree; and according to the testimony of Valerius Maximus, the consul Flaminius was obliged to do the office himself. By one of the laws of the twelve tables, it was prohibited to introduce any foreign worship into Rome, without the sanction of public authority.

In this consulship, a man who professed the art of healing wounds, made his appearance at Rome, where that art had been till then unknown: he was a native of Peloponnesus (*f*), went by the name of Archagathus, was honoured with the freedom of the city, and had a house built for him at the public expence. Colonies sent to Cremona (*g*) among the Boii, and to Placentia (*h*) among the Insubrians.

535.

Second

Punic War.

Second Punic war. Hannibal, the great Hannibal, son of Hamilcar, enters Italy with twenty thousand foot and six thousand horse. With this handful of men, he ventured to challenge, in their own country, those formidable Romans, whose forces were so numerous, that, according to the census made in the last war with the Gauls, they were able to set on foot an army of seven hundred and seventy thousand men, including the levies they had a right to make among their allies. Hannibal had thought proper to go by land, rather than by sea; that is, to traverse all Spain and Gaul, and to march an army over the Alps. It is incredible what a deal of labour and hardship he must have undergone in the execution of so adventurous a project. Out of fifty nine thousand men, whom he took with him at his departure from Carthagenæ, he had only six and twenty thousand remaining after the descent of the Alps; and even these were more like skeletons than men: but his thirst of glory, and aversion against the Romans, rendered him superior to all difficulties. It is said, that when

(*f*) A province of Greece, now called the *Morca*.

(*g*) A city of Lombardy, on the river Po, that still retains its ancient name; it was a Roman colony, and flourished greatly in the times of the republic, but suffered much in the civil wars of the last triumvirate, as we find by the noted line of Virgil,

*Mantua vae miseræ nimium vicina Cremonæ.*

(*h*) A city of Lombardy, now called *Piacenza*, situate on the river *Trebia*, not far from the Po; it is mentioned by Silius, lib. 8. *Quassata Placentia bello.*



he was only nine years of age, his father Hamilcar, before he set out for the wars in Spain, made him take a solemn oath upon the entrails of the victims that were going to be offered to Jupiter, to declare implacable enmity against the Romans, as soon as he came of age, and to do every thing in his power to annoy them. Never was an oath more religiously observed. After the death of Asdrubal, son-in-law of Hamilcar, Hannibal was made general of the Carthaginian troops, by the interest of the Barcan (*i*) faction; and from that time he prepared himself by his Spanish conquests, for the war with the Romans.

The motive of quarrel on the part of Rome, was Hannibal's having laid siege to Saguntum (*k*), a siege ever memorable both for the obstinacy of the Carthaginians in attacking, and the courage of the Spaniards in defending themselves, though the latter were at length obliged to yield. Saguntum was taken, plundered, and razed to the ground. This was a manifest violation of the treaty concluded with Asdrubal. Yet if we trace the matter higher, we must agree with Polybius, that the Carthaginians had just cause to break with the Romans, for the invasion of Sardinia, and for the immense sums extorted from them at the time they were unable to defend themselves. The Romans sent ambassadors to Carthage, to demand that Hannibal should be delivered up to them for having infringed the treaty: the Carthaginians refused to comply, and then the ambassadors declared war. Hannibal was therefore the leader, and in some measure the cause, of this war.

Cause of  
this war.

Saguntum  
taken by  
Hannibal.

As soon as he entered Italy, he found himself among the Insubrians, who had lately revolted against Rome, in conjunction with their neighbours the Boii. In order to gain the good will of the former, he declares in their favour against the *Taurinians*, with whom they were at war, and makes himself master of *Taurinum* (*l*), the principal city in that country. The Gauls had already entered into Hannibal's service, when he arrived upon the banks of the *Ticinus* (*m*), and gave battle to Publius Cornelius Scipio, who, finding himself unable to overtake him in Gaul, returned with the utmost expedition into Italy. This was only an engagement between the horse, where the Carthaginians had the advantage over the Romans. Scipio was wounded, and is said to have been indebted for his life to his son, afterwards surnamed *Africanus*, who notwithstanding his tender age, had the presence of mind to lead a considerable body of cavalry to rescue his father. The consul repassed the *Ticinus* and the *Po*, and went and incamped beyond the *Trebia*, a small river which empties itself into the latter; where he

The battle  
of *Ticinus*.

(*i*) So called from Hamilcar Barcas, the father of Hannibal.

(*k*) *Saguntum* or *Saguntus*, a town situate in the ancient *Hispania Tarraconensis*, and now called *Morviedro*.

(*l*) Called likewise *Augusta Taurinorum*, from Augustus, who sent a new colony hither; it is now the capital of Piedmont, and known by the name of *Turin*.

(*m*) A river of Lombardy, now called the *Tessino*, which empties itself into the *Po*; it gave name to the city of *Ticinum*, now *Pavia*.



Battle of  
Trebia.

was soon joined by his colleague Sempronius, a rash presumptuous man. Battle of Trebia, in which the Romans are defeated by the fault of their consul Sempronius. Scipio, a general of more caution and experience, was of opinion, that it would be adviseable to wait for a more favourable conjuncture, and a milder season, as they were then in the middle of winter.

Hannibal  
passes into  
Hetruria.

In Sicily the Romans had the advantage over the Carthaginian fleet, which appeared off Lilybæum. In Spain Cnæus Scipio, the consul's brother, obtains a victory over Hanno, whom Hannibal had entrusted with the government of that part of the country, on this side the Iberus, as far as the Pyrenees : on the other side of the Iberus, it was Asdrubal, brother of Hannibal, that commanded the troops in his absence. Hannibal attempts to cross the Apennines, and to enter Hetruria ; but a terrible storm, no unusual thing on those mountains in winter, obliges him to turn back : yet he did not relinquish his project. He had been informed of two other roads, the one longer, but safer ; the other shorter, but almost impassable, on account of the snow, and marshy grounds : the latter, as the most difficult, suited his enterprizing genius, and accordingly he chose it. All the hardships his army had sustained in the passage of the Alps, were nothing when compared to the sufferings they underwent in this painful march. They were obliged to pass four days and nights in the water and mire : a great many soldiers died, besides a far greater number of beasts of burden : the heaps of dead carcasses, which rose above water, were the only dry spot the soldiers could get to repose their weary limbs. Hannibal himself, though he had the precaution to mount the only elephant he had left, was seized with a defluxion, which deprived him of one eye ; and in this condition he reached Hetruria.

Painful  
march.

536.

There, unfortunately for the republic, he was expected by Caius Flaminius, the same, who when tribune of the people, had paved the way for the destructive war of the Gauls, by a law ordaining the division of lands ; and the same, who in his first consulate had been guilty of disobedience towards the senate. The popular faction, to reward him for his aversion against the senate, had raised him to the consulate a second time, at a conjuncture when the republic stood in need of her best heads and ablest captains. He set out for the army, without waiting to be inaugurated in the consular dignity with the usual ceremonies of religion ; and then the people grew sensible of their bad choice. As they began to be afraid, processions and public prayers were appointed. They likewise revived the Saturnalia, a festival designed to represent the equality, which is said to have formerly obtained among mankind, in the golden age, and under the reign of Saturn. It was ordained that this festival should be celebrated hereafter every year.

Hannibal, being informed of the fiery temper of Flaminius, endeavoured to bring him to a battle, by ordering the Roman territories



ories to be ravaged just within sight of their general. Flaminius, provoked at this behaviour, quits his camp without waiting for his colleague, contrary to the advice of the council of war, and without paying any regard to omens. Hannibal had taken his measures, and posted himself on a rising ground, at the bottom of a very large valley, bordered on both sides by mountains, and the entrance of which was stopped up by the lake *Trasymenus*, so as to leave but one narrow passage.

The famous battle of the lake *Trasymenus* (1). The Roman army, being attacked on all sides in the valley, by the troops which Hannibal had placed in ambush in the mountains, is almost intirely cut in pieces, and the consul Flaminius is slain: a body of six thousand Romans open themselves a way through the enemy, and are taken prisoners the day following. A few days after, Hannibal defeats four thousand horse that had been sent by Servilius to the assistance of his colleague. General consternation at Rome. The senate, after a consultation of several days, appoint a dictator, or rather pro-dictator, because the right of naming a dictator belonged to the consuls in office. The person chosen at this critical juncture, was Quintus Fabius Maximus Verrucosus, the coolest and most cautious person in the republic; and who, by his prudent delays, was destined to restore the affairs of his drooping country.

The Romans were not accustomed to such caution and delays: they were impatient that Hannibal should spread his army over Apulia, Samnium, and Campania, and ravage those fruitful provinces, while Fabius quietly looked on, without taking so much as a single step to oppose him. And yet it is beyond all doubt, that Fabius had brought matters to such a pass, that the war might have been determined at a single blow, had he been engaged with less artful an enemy. The Roman general had taken possession of the pass called *Eribanus*, the only way that Hannibal could pitch upon in his march out of Campania, to get into winter quarters: but the Carthaginian contrived a stratagem, which alone is sufficient to prove, that in art and stratagem no general ever excelled him. He ordered two thousand of the strongest oxen to be picked out of the cattle taken in the country, and faggots to be tied to their horns, which, as soon as night came on, were to be set on fire, and the oxen to be driven up the hills. The soldiers, whom Fabius had appointed to guard the pass, perceiving this fire scattered on all sides, began to think themselves surrounded, and that the whole Carthaginian army was going to fall upon them, fire and sword in hand: upon which they abandoned their posts, and ran away; when Hannibal, seizing the opportunity, ordered his troops to advance, and got through the pass.

At Rome they went so far, as to accuse Fabius of holding a secret correspondence with the enemy. The charge was founded on the artful behaviour of Hannibal, who spared Fabius's lands in the general

(1) Now called the lake of *Perugia*, from which city it is not far distant.

devallation,



devastation, with a design to raise a suspicion against this commander, whose prudence had disconcerted all his projects : for Hannibal could make no progress, nor even maintain himself long in Italy, unless he brought the enemy to a battle, and obtained a complete victory. The Romans did not consider, that Fabius had just sold those very lands, in order to ransom his fellow citizens. He is recalled, under pretence of making him preside at a solemn sacrifice, and they looked upon it as a favour done him, to deprive him only of one half of his authority. The people, at the request of the tribunes, pass a law, importing that Fabius should share the supreme authority with Minucius, his general of horse, and greatest enemy : and the senate confirm this dangerous innovation.

Now was the time that the merit of the great Fabius shone forth in its highest lustre. His new colleague was as rash and presumptuous, as he himself was cool and deliberate. No sooner did he see himself at the head of one half of the army, than he wanted to enter the lists with Hannibal. The armies were then in Apulia ; Minucius came down into the plains of Geronium, where he soon was made sensible of the superiority of Hannibal's cavalry. To add to this misfortune, a body of the enemy's troops, that had lain in ambush, sallied forth of a sudden upon the Romans in the very heat of the engagement, and began to make a terrible slaughter. Fabius was, according to custom, encamped upon an eminence, from whence he coolly observed what passed. Seeing the armies engaged, he rushed down like a torrent from the top of the hill, to save Minucius and his army. Hannibal, finding whom he had to deal with, sounded a retreat, and turned back to his camp : *I foresaw*, said he, *that this cloud, which appeared hovering over the mountains, would break out into a storm, and discharge itself upon our heads.* Minucius, confounded at his mistake, and grateful to his deliverer, resigned the troops, and his authority to him, contenting himself with learning to command and to conquer under so great a general. All Italy resounded with the praises of Fabius ; and admired his circumspection and conduct : the consuls, who resumed their office at the expiration of the six months of the dictatorship, thought they could do no better than to imitate his example.

The Romans successful in Spain.

In Spain the two Scipio's, Publius the proconsul, and Cneius his brother, continued the war with surprizing success. Cneius, after defeating Asdrubal's fleet, at the mouth of the Iberus, received the submission of almost all the nations in that large tract of country, between the abovementioned river and the Pyrenees. The Celtiberians, who inhabited part of the kingdom of Arragon, distinguished themselves more than all the rest ; for they defeated Asdrubal in two pitched battles, killed fifteen thousand of his men, took four thousand prisoners, and a great number of colours. The troops of the republic, strengthened by the reinforcements which came with the proconsul's fleet, passed the Iberus, with a design to rescue the Spanish young noblemen, whom the Carthaginians kept as hostages at Saguntum, which city they had rebuilt. The Romans got the hostages into their possession, by holding a correspondence



response in the town; and the proconsul sent them back to their parents.

537.

Struck with this generous behaviour, the Spaniards waited only for the spring to take up arms against the Carthaginians. Asdrubal's affairs were in a very bad way, when he received orders to repair to Italy, and join his forces to those under the command of his brother. Himilco was sent to Spain in his stead, with a strong army, and powerful fleet. The two Scipio's, in order to prevent Asdrubal's departure, come to a pitched battle with him on the banks of the Iberus, and obtain a complete victory.

Asdrubal  
defeated by  
the two  
Scipio's.

In Italy the face of affairs was very different. Hannibal despairing to succeed, so long as he had to deal with imitators of Fabius, had formed a design to return to Cisalpine Gaul: but luckily for him, the people of Rome thought proper to raise Terentius Varro to the consulate, a man, who from the low condition of a butcher, had, by intrigues, and declamatory speeches against the nobility, wriggled himself gradually into the first employments of the state. He had even interest enough to obtain a regulation, that he, and his colleague Æmilius, should every other day have the alternate command of the whole forces of the republic, that had been never so numerous. They raised eight legions, which made four consular armies: each legion, usually consisting of only four thousand foot, and two hundred horse, received an addition of a thousand foot, and a hundred horse; and, moreover, the allies were obliged to furnish double their usual contingent of horse and foot. Happy would it have been for the Romans, had they conferred the command of these new forces on some new Fabius! It is true, Æmilius resembled that great man pretty much, but Varro's conduct was directly opposite.

Hannibal, straitened for want of provisions, advanced into the heart of Apulia, and encamped in the plains of Cannæ (m), on the banks of the Aufidus. Æmilius followed him against his will, being dragged on by his colleague, who, when it was his turn to command, took an opportunity to commit a heap of blunders. Battle of Cannæ fought by Varro the consul. The engagement began with the cavalry, and the Romans were obliged to give way, after a stout resistance: the center of Hannibal's army fell back by his directions, in order to bring the Romans within their lines; then the wings, which had been rendered very strong, took the Romans in flank, and in the rear. Thus surrounded, though superior in number, they were obliged to quit their ranks, and to form several platoons, in order to

Battle of  
Cannæ.

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(m) Florus, lib. 1. calls it *ignobilis Apuliæ vicus*. It was five miles from Canusium, and six from the Adriatic sea. The place still retains the name of Cannæ, and is in the kingdom of Naples, and territory of Bari. The *Aufidus* is now called the *Ofanto*. In these same plains of *Cannæ* is the little river *Vergellus*, over which Hannibal is said to have made a bridge of dead bodies, *Hannibal in flumine Vergello corporibus Romanis ponte facto exercitum traduxit*. Val. Max. lib. 9.



face the enemy every way. This confusion was the cause of their defeat. The slaughter was so great, that Hannibal thought it his duty to check the fury of his troops; *soldiers*, says he, *spare the conquered*. By that time there were at least fifty thousand Romans killed on the spot. Of this number were the consul Æmilius, the two consuls of the preceding year, both the quæstors of the army, nine and twenty legionary tribunes, fourscore senators, or magistrates, who had a right of voting in the senate (*m*), and served as volunteers. Varro fled to Venusia, with only seventy horse. Hannibal himself was amazed at such prodigious success, which did not cost him six thousand men. He is charged with not knowing how to improve a victory; and it is said, that upon his refusing to go and lay siege to Rome after the battle of Cannæ, Maherbal, one of his general officers, took the liberty to tell him; *sir, it is not enough to conquer, we should know how to make a right use of victory*.

The remains of the Roman army, in number about ten thousand men, met together at Canusium, under the command of Varro. Here they had occasion to admire the generosity of a Roman lady, who, at her own expence, supplied such a multitude with provisions, till convoys could come from Rome. The consternation was terrible in that capital; the women especially made such grievous lamentations, that the senate were obliged to pass a decree, forbidding them to appear in public, or to disturb the city by their cries. Superstition was also concerned; and Fabius Pictor was sent to consult the oracle of Delphi. They likewise revived the dreadful sacrifice of human victims, which had been already practised in the war with the Gauls; two Greeks, a man and a woman, and two Gauls, a man and a woman, were buried alive in the forum. This barbarous scene was succeeded by another of a very different kind; the senate and all the other orders went out to meet the consul Varro, and gave him public thanks *for not having despaired of the republic, when there was such occasion to despair*. By such gentle behaviour they intended to lessen the mortification the consul must have undergone in being deprived of the command of the army, which was given to the prætor Claudius Marcellus. But how is it possible to reconcile so much moderation to such inhumanity?

Marcellus  
appointed to  
command  
the army.

M. Junius Pera is named dictator by the senate. In order to raise a new army, he requires the allies to furnish their usual contingent, and insists all the young people above seventeen, to whom he adds eight thousand of the stoutest slaves, with about six thousand men taken out of the public prisons. The slaves and prisoners of all sorts were supplied with the old arms that had been formerly taken from the enemy, and

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(*m*) After the battle, Hannibal sent his brother Mago to Carthage with one bushel of gold rings, according to Livy, others say three, taken from the Roman knights and senators, and to shew how great the loss of the Romans was, Mago acquainted the senate of Carthage, that only knights and patricians were allowed to wear rings.



hung up in the public porticoes and temples ; for the magazines were exhausted. With regard to the finances, the public zeal partly supplied their deficiency, the citizens all vying with one another to bring their most valuable effects to the quæstors : and in order to increase the silver coin, it was now for the first time mixed with alloy. Great dispute among the senators, concerning the prisoners made at the battle of Cannæ. Hannibal had given them leave to treat about their ransom ; but after a long debate, it was absolutely concluded not to redeem them. Those unfortunate men, about eight thousand in number, were exposed to the fury of Hannibal, who sacrificed them to his hatred against the Romans. The most considerable among them he sent to Carthage, and made the rest serve as gladiators at a public show, which he exhibited to his troops.

The Capuans surrender their city to Hannibal. Hitherto the several allies of Rome had continued faithful ; but the battle of Cannæ staggered them all : a considerable part of the people of Apulia, and Samnium, the Lucani, the Crotoniates, the Surrentini (q), the Tarentini, and, at length, Capua, and almost all Campania, embraced his party. He makes an unsuccessful attempt upon Nola and Casilinum (r) : in an engagement before the former town with the celebrated prætor Marcellus, he is defeated with the loss of near three thousand men ; which action of Marcellus was the first that revived the hopes of the republic. Hannibal takes up his winter quarters in Capua, a city immersed in luxury and pleasure : this proved more fatal to the Carthaginians, than the plains of Cannæ had been to the Romans. For the Carthaginians appeared like heroes, when they first entered Capua ; but they had lost all their bravery, upon their return in the spring before Casilinum, the siege of which had been changed during the winter into a blockade. Hannibal had forgot his activity and ancient vigour ; with a large victorious army, he could not storm a small town defended only by twelve hundred men ; so that he reduced it by famine.

At Rome, the consul Terentius Varro, by desire of the senate, nominates a second dictator, in order to fill up the great number of vacant places in that august assembly : as the republic happened then to be in a very extraordinary situation, recourse was had to an extraordinary method. M. Fabius Butco, who was appointed to this honourable office, discharged it with the approbation of all orders of people : for he chose to the senatorial dignity, those who had been invested with curule magistracies, or who had distinguished themselves in the army ; and then he abdicated his dignity.

(q) The Surrentini were the inhabitants of *Surrentum*, a maritime town of Campania, now called *Sorrento*, situate near the *promontorium Minervæ*, now *Capo della Minerva*, three miles from the island of *Capræ*. The wine of this place was reckoned excellent.

*Et Surrentino generosos palmitæ colles.* Ovid. Met. 15.

(r) A city of Campania, situate on the river *Fulturnus*, and now called *Capua Nova*.



Posthumius Albinus, with a Roman army, cut in pieces by the Boii, Lucius Posthumius Albinus, one of the consuls appointed for the following year, was cut off, with his whole army, at an ambuscade laid by the Cisalpine Gauls, in the forest of Litana (s). He had been sent with two legions, and a proportionable number of allies, to keep those people within bounds, and to intercept their communication with Hannibal.

538.

This melancholy news heightened the affliction of the Romans, yet they did not lose that steadiness and resolution, which had been always their chief resource in times of adversity: it was only ordered that no more troops should be sent into Gaul, and that they should turn all their forces against Hannibal. This general was grown more formidable by a treaty of offensive and defensive alliance concluded with the ambassadors of Philip king of Macedon, who had been induced thereto by Demetrius of Pharos, after this prince had taken shelter in his dominions. The Romans would not wait to see Philip invade their territories, but, resolving to be before hand with him, they gave orders for a fleet of fifty galleys to be fitted out, and to sail for Macedon.

The campaign in Italy produced no remarkable event, except a victory obtained by Marcellus, under the walls of Nola, where he was attacked by Hannibal a second time. Fabius was consul, and behaved with his usual caution; so that he was called the *buckler of Rome*, and Marcellus was stiled the *sword of the republic*. Besides the consuls, the Romans had several generals with the titles of proconsuls, prætors, and proprætors, or invested with a particular commission; and they generally had the advantage over the enemy.

The Sardinians subdued.

The Sardinians, having revolted at the instigation of a person named Hampsicoras, were intirely subdued by T. Manlius Torquatus. This general had already triumphed over Sardinia, and, without doubt, would have received this honour again, had the times permitted. He defeated the rebels and the Carthaginians in two pitched battles, in which fifteen thousand of the enemy were cut in pieces, and a great number taken prisoners, among whom was the Carthaginian general, Asdrubal, surnamed the *Bald*.

The Romans successful in Spain.

The news from Spain were equally favourable. Publius Scipio still commanded there as proconsul, and had under him his brother Cneius. Advice was brought that he had twice defeated the enemy, the first time before Ilturgis (t), the second before Indibilis (u), two cities besieged by the Carthaginians, who were obliged each time to raise the siege. To supply the wants of this army in Spain, the Romans, for the first time, ordered the publicans, or farmers of the revenue, to advance the sums necessary for that service. They were assured that

(s) This is the *Litana Silva*, belonging to the country of the Boii.

(t) Now called *Anduxar*; it was a town of the ancient *Bætica*.

(u) Some call it *Incibilis*; it was a town of *Hispania Tarraconensis*, and is now called S. Mattheo, 27 miles from Tortosa.

they



they should be the first that were reimbursed, as soon as the public treasury was able to satisfy their demands; and the republic kept her word.

In Sicily, affairs had taken a more unfavourable turn. This island had State of been invaded by the Carthaginians, at the beginning of the war; but affairs in they could make no impression, so long as Hiero, that faithful ally of Sicily. the Romans, lived. After his decease, which happened this year, Hieronymus, his grandson and successor, declared for Hannibal, and concluded an alliance with Carthage. This young prince, having rendered himself odious by his cruelty and arrogance, was assassinated by a band of conspirators, who had formed a design of surrendering the government of Syracuse into the hands of the republic.

539.

The murder of Hieronymus was followed by the massacre of almost all the nearest relations of good king Hiero, under pretence that some of them wanted to restore the monarchical government. Syracuse was all in a combustion; two factions were formed in that city, one for the Romans, the other for the Carthaginians; but the latter was the strongest. Hippocrates and Epicydes, Hannibal's agents, usurped the chief authority among the Syracusians, and made themselves masters of the capital. The consul Marcellus lays siege to that potent city. This general, before he sailed for Sicily, had obtained a fresh advantage over Hannibal, under the walls of Nola, the usual theatre of his glory. And this was not the only advantage the republic gained in Italy.

The Romans had spared no pains to prepare for a successful campaign: they had chosen for their consuls Marcellus and Fabius, the two greatest generals they had at that time, without troubling their heads about the law, which prohibited any person from being invested with the consular dignity two successive years: they had raised an army of eighteen legions, with a proportionable number of allies, equal at least to that of the legionaries: and by a poll-tax upon people of easy fortunes, they had procured a sufficient number of seamen for the fleet: in fine, by a policy that was judged necessary in the present circumstances, they continued most of the generals of the preceding year in their respective commands. To these military preparations was added an example of severity to impress the troops with a sense of their duty. The censors degraded several thousand citizens, who had been convicted of desiring to withdraw from Italy after the battle of Cannæ; or of having violated the oath they had taken to go back to Hannibal, if they could not obtain their ransom at Rome; or lastly, of having evaded entering the service, though of age to bear arms. These were all expelled from the tribes, reduced to pay taxes without having any voice in the public assemblies, and deprived of all hopes of ever obtaining any preferment. By a decree of the senate, they were banished to Sicily, there to serve on foot with the runaways of the battle of Cannæ, so long as Hannibal continued in Italy.



Battle of  
Beneven-  
tum.

Battle of Beneventum, gained by the proconsul Sempronius Gracchus, over Hanno, lieutenant to Hannibal: the proconsul's forces consisted chiefly of those eight thousand slaves, called *volones*, from having enlisted voluntarily, and whom he had disciplined himself; during the two years they had been under his command. With the senate's permission, he promised them their liberty, if they proved victorious: and what is it men will not do to obtain so inestimable a blessing! Hanno's army consisted of eighteen thousand men, sixteen thousand of whom were slain in this battle: it is true, that Hanno had his revenge soon after. Fabius retakes Casilinum, and spreads terror and desolation through the several provinces that had surrendered themselves to the enemy.

In Spain, the two Scipio's were victorious in three pitched battles, the fruit of which was the retaking of Saguntum, a city which had given rise to this bloody war between Rome and Carthage. The Saguntines are reinstated in their possessions. Philip, king of Macedon, lays siege to Apollonia, a city then allied to the Romans. The prætor Lævinus flies to the relief of this place, surprizes Philip in his camp, defeats his army, and obliges him to return to Macedon, after setting fire himself to the galleys prepared for his passage into Italy. Such was the unhappy consequence of the treaty between this young prince and Hannibal, which ought to have convinced him how dangerous it was to quarrel with the Romans.

540.

The republic was so well pleased with the services of the great Fabius, surnamed the *Cunctator*, as to raise his son to the consulate, in hopes that he would not act but by the direction of his father, who was to serve under him as his lieutenant-general. The two Fabii watched Hannibal's motions so very close, that he was not able to attempt any considerable enterprize during this campaign; and, on the other hand, the allies perceiving that Rome was gradually regaining her superiority, demanded to be received again into her friendship. It was much the same case in Spain. The Scipio's, by the superiority of their arms, and prudent conduct, had prejudiced all the neighbouring nations in favour of the Romans. Without engaging in any new enterprize this year, they contented themselves with laying hold of this favourable disposition, to draw over Syphax, an African prince, and king of Masælyia (x), to the Roman party: and now the eyes of all Europe were turned towards Marcellus the proconsul, who still carried on the siege of Syracuse in Sicily.

Siege of  
Syracuse.

This siege had lasted a full year, and made no manner of progress. The wonderful ingenuity of a single man, though shut up in his cabinet, disconcerted every effort of Roman valour: in vain did Marcellus with a fleet of sixty quinqueremes, on the one hand, and the prætor Appius Claudius at the head of several legions, on the other, attack

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(x) The western part of Numidia in Africa.



the city of Syracuse by sea and land; the machines which Archimedes had placed on the walls, were sufficient to defend it: for sometimes they discharged on the besiegers a shower of darts, with enormous masses of stone or lead, and beams pointed with iron: sometimes they grappled their galleys, and after whirling them through the air, they either dashed them against the rocks, and so broke them in pieces; or let them fall with such force into the sea, that they sunk to the bottom with all their crew: and, lastly, flames of fire, so much the more dreadful, as they were unforeseen, darted from the focus of a burning glass, and burnt the Roman fleet. The latter circumstance we do not find in the most ancient historians, and therefore it has been looked upon as apocryphal by authors of the best reputation. But the curious experiments performed some years ago by M. de Buffon, are sufficient to ascertain the probability of the fact. It is well known that this celebrated academician contrived glasses, which set fire to objects two or three hundred feet distant; and since he made it appear that it was possible for Archimedes to be the author of so ingenious a contrivance, he well deserves a share of that celebrated mathematician's glory.

Marcellus changes the siege of Syracuse into a blockade, and leaves the direction of it to Appius, while he puts himself at the head of part of his troops, and sets out to reconquer the Sicilian cities, which had deserted the Roman interest. Hippocrates having marched out of Syracuse with ten thousand men, to join Hamilco the Carthaginian general, he cuts his infantry in pieces. During these transactions, two fleets arrive in Sicily, one of thirty quinqueremes for the Romans, and the other of fifty five galleys commanded by Bomilcar for the Carthaginians. Appius Claudius stands for the consulate, and obtains it; Marcellus appoints T. Quintius Crispinus to succeed him.

## 541.

The taking of Syracuse. This city would have been impregnable, Marcellus had not the Syracusians themselves been the authors of their own disgrace. On the one hand, Archimedes's machines absolutely hindered the approaches of the Romans; and, on the other, it was impossible for the blockade to succeed, because Syracuse, which was divided into five large distinct wards, of a prodigious circumference, had the conveniency of a double harbour, so that it was an easy matter to supply the town with provisions. Marcellus, having been apprized that the walls were ill guarded in the night, advances silently, and scales one part of the city. Upon this, the whole united force of the Sicilians and Carthaginians is assembled in the neighbourhood of Syracuse, viz. Hamilco at the head of the Carthaginians, Hippocrates at the head of the Sicilians, and Bomilcar with a new fleet of a hundred and sixty sail which he had brought from Africa: yet these formidable forces were all baffled. The plague breaks out in their camps, and carries off Hamilco and Hippocrates, upon which their troops immediately disband: Bomilcar sails back to Carthage just at the very time that it was expected he would give battle to Marcellus; and



Archimedes  
is killed.

Epicydes in great confusion retires to Agrigentum. The Syracusians being reduced to extremity, propose to surrender, on condition that their lives shall be spared; but their city was given up to the soldiers to be plundered. The celebrated Archimedes was killed in the general confusion; and to the honour of Marcellus, it is said that he sincerely lamented his death, and granted peculiar privileges to his relations: this is not at all surprizing in a man, who was seen to shed tears, upon contemplating the imminent ruin of the Syracusians. The plunder found at Syracuse, and transported to Rome, was reckoned as considerable, as if Marcellus had made himself master of Carthage.

The Romans were now employed in another important siege, that of Capua, the first and most considerable conquest of the Carthaginians. Hannibal, on his part, takes Tarentum and Thurium by intelligence: he had been long desirous of getting possession of some sea-port town, for the conveniency of receiving succours from Carthage and Macedonia; and Tarentum was very fit for this purpose.

Disturbances in Rome, occasioned by the male practices of some of the publicans, who are severely punished. Their goods are confiscated, and they are forbid the use of fire and water, a kind of sentence equivalent to banishment.

The two  
Scipio's slain  
in Spain.

The republic loseth three of her greatest generals, the two Scipio's, and Tib. Sempronius Gracchus, who, in the quality of proconsul, continued to command the new disciplined slaves in Lucania. Sempronius is killed in an ambuscade, by the treachery of a Lucanian, whose name was Fulvius. The two Scipio's are slain in Spain at the head of their armies, within less than a month of one another. These great men may be reproached in some measure with too much confidence from their many successes: they separated imprudently, reckoning to have brought matters to such a point, that, at one blow, they should terminate the Spanish war. For this end, Publius having taken two thirds of the Roman forces with him, set out with a design to fight Mago, and Asdrubal the son of Gisco; while Cneius, with the remainder of the Romans, and thirty thousand Celtiberian mercenaries, attacked Asdrubal, the brother of Hannibal, and commander in chief of the Carthaginians. Publius found more work cut out for him than he imagined: two new armies had started up all of a sudden in defence of the Carthaginians; the one commanded by Indibilis, a Spanish prince who reigned over the Lacetani (x); the other by Masiussa, a young but formidable captain, son of Gala king of the Massilian Numidians, who had sided with the Carthaginians against Syphax, king of the Massæsylian Numidians their neighbours. Thus Publius found himself attacked at the same time by three armies. What could the bravest man do on such an occasion, but fight and perish? such was the fate of the generous Publius, he died sword in hand, and the best part of his troops fell with him. In regard

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(x) A people of Catalonia, not far from the Pyrenean mountains.



to Cneius, he had no sooner parted from his brother, than he saw himself deserted by the Celtiberians, who, having been bribed by Asdrubal with large sums, marched back to their own country. Cneius being reduced to his own troops, was soon overpowered by such a number of victorious armies, and died sword in hand, like his brother Publius.

The affairs of Rome seemed to be in a desperate way in Spain; had it not been a usual thing for the republic to rise again, as it were out of her own ashes. Among the unfortunate remains of those armies, there was a young Roman knight, named Marcius, who as yet had attained no degree, though he merited the highest, in the army. He rallied the troops with as great presence of mind as the Scipio's themselves could have done, and, having drawn some reinforcements from the Roman garrisons, he mustered up a tolerable army; upon which the troops chose him for their general, with the title of *proprætor*. He justified their choice before the end of the campaign, having gained one battle, and surprized two camps; which rendered him formidable to the Carthaginians. Notwithstanding this gallant behaviour, he did not meet at Rome with deserved applause; the senate were offended, because in the letter wherein he informed them of his success, he had stiled himself *proprætor*, an honour that had not been conferred upon him by the ordinary *comitia*. His exploits were admired, but went unrewarded, and C. Claudius was sent to command in Spain in his room, with a reinforcement of fourteen or fifteen thousand men.

C. Marcius gains a signal victory over the Carthaginians.

Institution of the *Ludi Apollinares*, owing to some predictions of a celebrated soothsayer, named Marcius. These games were celebrated in the great circus, the citizens sat to see them, crowned with laurel, and that day they dined in public, each man before his own door.

*Ludi Apollinares.*

The republic had three and twenty legions on foot this and the following year.

542.

Hannibal attempts to relieve Capua, still besieged by Fulvius and Appius, consuls of the preceding year, who at that time acted as *proconsuls*. Finding himself repulsed, he takes a desperate resolution of marching to Rome, with a design to surprize that capital, or at least to make a powerful diversion. He laid waste the whole country, through which he marched, and made a considerable booty in provinces, that for a long time had seen no enemy: this was all the benefit he reaped from so extraordinary an expedition, which has been greatly extolled by many historians, though if well considered, it seems to have been only an act of despair. True it is, that the alarm was at first very great at Rome; but it was only among the women, and the common people. Without raising the siege of Capua, the care of which was left to Appius, the senate sent for Fulvius, with his army; the ramparts were all lined with soldiers; detachments were sent to mount Alba and to *Æsula*; the several posts in the neighbourhood of Rome, were occupied by different bodies of troops; and Fulvius came and encamped between the gates Collina and Esquilina. It soon appeared, that Hannibal

Hannibal marches to Rome.



bal was no longer so formidable to the Romans; for at the very time that he lay before one of the gates of their city, they ordered a reinforcement of two thousand men to march another way, to the relief of Spain; and at Rome they sold a piece of ground, situated in the place where he was encamped, as dear as if he had been a hundred leagues off. Hearing of this, he was greatly affronted; and in revenge, he set up to sale the bankers shops round the forum. But a few days after, he retired to the country of the Brutii.

Hannibal  
retires.

Capua re-  
taken by the  
Romans.

The Capuans finding themselves hard pressed by the two proconsuls, and by famine, offer to capitulate: the conditions granted them are not known; to judge by the consequences, they could not be favourable. As soon as the Romans were in possession of the town, they seized the senators, who were afterwards beaten with rods, and beheaded, by order of Fulvius; the lower people were sold for slaves; the citizens, after being stripped of all their effects, were dispersed in different places; and the town was peopled with freedmen, who were sent to manure those fruitful plains of Campania, which Cicero stiled the best farm belonging to the people of Rome. Vibius Virius, the chief author of the Capuan revolt, foresaw this rigid treatment, to avoid which, he drank a cup of poison at the end of a sumptuous entertainment: he had invited his chief accomplices, who poisoned themselves along with him, to the number of seven and twenty senators.

League of the Romans, Ætolians, Lacedæmonians, and other people of Greece, against Philip king of Macedon. The proprætor Lævinus, having been entrusted with the command of a fleet of fifty ships, in order to watch over Macedon, cuts out work enough for that prince to hinder his invading Italy.

In Spain, the proprætor C. Claudius Nero missed a very good opportunity of destroying Asdrubal's whole army, which had suffered itself to be shut up on a neck of land, where they must have perished for want of provisions, if Claudius had not lost time in negotiations, during which Asdrubal found means to convey all his troops gradually over the mountains. The people assembled to chuse a proconsul to succeed him, and their choice fell on P. Cornelius Scipio, son of the eldest of the two Scipio's, killed the preceding year in Spain. Scipio was then but four and twenty years old, but had all the accomplishments of an hero. The people adored him, and looked upon him as a man inspired by the gods; a notion which he took great care to cultivate, foreseeing that he might one day make a very good use of it in the service of his country. He embarked on board a fleet of thirty quinqueres, with ten thousand foot and a thousand horse.

Young  
Scipio sent  
to Spain.

Marcellus, upon his return to Rome, decrees a triumph to himself on mount Alba; for in the city they allowed him only a simple ovation, because his army remained in Sicily, where the Carthaginians still preserved a narrow spot of land. This general was a lover of the polite arts; he built the temples of Honour and Virtue at Rome, and decorated them with the statues, pictures, vases, and other valuable ornaments,



ornaments, of which he had stripped the opulent city of Syracuse. Yet he is blamed for having introduced among the Romans that exquisite taste for the polite arts, which insensibly involved them in all manner of extravagance and luxury. But surely the taste itself is innocent; the abuse is what we ought only to condemn.

543.

Notwithstanding the irregular behaviour of Marcellus in decreeing a triumph to himself, he was chosen consul the fourth time: Sicily fell to his lot once more; but he made an exchange with his colleague Lævinus, who had Italy for his department. The Syracusians accused him of behaving towards them rather as a tyrant, than a conqueror: he justified himself; but, instead of desiring to be revenged, he obtained of the senate that those very people should be treated on the foot of allies of the republic. Won by such generosity, they chose him for their patron, instituted a festival that bore his name, and decreed that whenever either he or any of his family came to Syracuse, they should make a public entry. Fulvius Flaccus, one of the conquerors of Capua, was also accused by the Campanians; but they did not succeed. Several incendiaries were taken up at Rome, for setting fire to different quarters of the city, at the instigation of divers noble persons of Campania; a circumstance which contributed not a little to discredit the cause of their nation.

Insurrection at Rome in consequence of a tax which the consuls wanted to lay on the people, for maintaining the seamen. The senators, by the advice of the consul Lævinus, carry all their valuable effects, their money, jewels, and plate, to the public treasury; this was taking the people by the weak side; their emulation was roused; they taxed themselves, and furnished a more considerable supply than could have been expected. Troubles at Rome.

The army, under the præconsul Fulvius Centumalus, is cut in pieces by Hannibal, near Herdonia (a) in Apulia: Marcellus marches that way immediately, and offers battle to the Carthaginians: the action was not decisive; for night parted the combatants. Hannibal used all his art to avoid a second general engagement. Lævinus makes himself master of Agrigentum, the only place the Carthaginians had still remaining in Sicily: Epicydes, and the other Carthaginian generals, withdraw by sea, and leave the Romans in possession of this long contested prize. Battle of Herdonia.

In Spain, Scipio's first essay was the surprizing of new Carthage (b), a city built by Asdrubal, son-in-law of Hamilcar: he had been advised to avail himself of the division among the three Carthaginian generals, which was then at a very great height,

(a) A city of Apulia, near the river *Aufidus*, now called *Ardonia*, between the rivers *Cervaro* and *Caropelle*. Appian writes with an omicron, *Ἐρδωνία*; but Silius, lib. 8. makes it long, *Obscura incultis Herdonia mist ab agris*.

(b) Now called Carthagen in the kingdom of Murcia in Spain.



and to attack them while they continued separate. A general of the common stamp would have followed this advice; but Scipio had more extensive views; he was sensible, that by making himself master of new Carthage, he should immediately deprive the enemy of the sinews of war. For here it was that they kept the treasure taken from the Spaniards, with the hostages of that nation; this was their magazine of arms and provisions; this the safest port for their fleets; this the center of communication between Africa and Spain. The city being taken by assault, was given up to the troops to be plundered. On this occasion it was that the young proconsul gave a remarkable instance of continency, which will do eternal honour to his memory. His soldiers brought him a Spanish young lady, whom they found in the town; her beauty was superior to the lustre of her birth, and she was betrothed to a Celtiberian prince, named Allucius, who had a most tender affection for her. Scipio beheld, and admired his fair prisoner, and then resigned her into the hands of her father and her lover (b). Yet it is certain that this great man had a passion for the fair sex; but still he had a much greater for glory and virtue. He behaved also in the same manner towards the hostages, by sending for their relations, and delivering them up without any ransom. Was it possible for him to take a more effectual step, towards executing his design of subduing Spain by his humanity, rather than by force of arms?

At Rome the people, for the first time, assume the privilege of naming a dictator, which properly belonged to the consuls. The custom was for the consuls, or for the dictator appointed by one of them for that effect, to preside in the comitia for the election of consuls of the ensuing year. Lævinus having refused to name one according to the direction of the senate, they had recourse to the tribunes of the people, and charged them to desire a dictator in the assembly of the tribes. These took upon them to name Fulvius Flaccus, who was appointed by Marcellus; and he had interest to get himself elected to the consulate contrary to law; for the president of the assembly was not allowed to appear as candidate. They chose for his colleague the great Fabius, who was also declared prince of the senate the following year.

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(b) This fact, though supported by the generality of historians, is contradicted by Valerius Antias, who positively says, that he did not return the lady to her relations, but kept her for his own pleasure; *puella quædam pulcherrima, quam, Carthagine ampla civitate in Hispania expugnata, ceperat P. Africanus superior, non reddita patri, sed retenta ab eo, atque in deliciis, amoribusque usurpata est.* This same historian seems to have but an indifferent opinion of Scipio's morals, which was owing perhaps to the following verses of the poet Nævius, written against that general.

*Etiam qui res magnas manu sæpe gessit gloriosè,  
Cujus fœda mœne cingent, qui apud gentes solus  
Præstat, et suis pater cum patre uno ab amica abduxit.*

See Aulus Gellius, lib. 6. cap. 8.

Am-



Ambassadors sent to Syphax king of Numidia, and to the other petty kings of Africa, in order to solicit or preserve their alliance with the Romans: a deputation was likewise sent to Ptolemy Philopater king of Egypt, to renew the alliance which had subsisted sixty three years between the republic and the kingdom of Egypt.

The number of troops this year was no more than one and twenty legions.

544.

C. Mamilius Vitulus, a plebeian, is raised to the dignity of *curio maximus*: he was the superintendent, or chief of the thirty *curiones*, who presided at the religious ceremonies in each of the *curiæ*. This seems to have been no difficult point to obtain, since the order of the plebeians had been allowed to supply the republic with supreme pontiffs; and yet a decree of the senate was necessary for authorizing the comitia to elect Mamilius.

Out of thirty colonies which were to furnish their contingent this year, twelve refused under pretence that they were utterly incapable. On the contrary, the other eighteen not only offered their share, but more if necessary; and the senate ordered the public thanks to be given to their deputies, in the assembly of the people. Livy has preserved the names of those eighteen colonies, by whose zeal, he says, the republic was saved. And we must needs imagine that the government was greatly exhausted, since the consuls, in order to open the campaign, were obliged to have recourse to the secret treasury, from whence they took out the gold that was kept there for the most urgent necessities of the state.

This year three famous generals commanded in Italy, the two consuls, and Marcellus in the quality of proconsul: the latter having harassed Hannibal ever since the battle of Herdonia, obliged him at length to come to an engagement in the plains of Canusium. The Romans were routed the first day; but the next they obliged the ene-  
 my to retire a second time into the country of the Brutii, after losing  
 eight thousand men. The consul Fulvius recovered without blood-  
 shed Hirpinia and Lucania, from whence he marched and attacked  
 the Brutians, Hannibal's most faithful allies. Fabius forms the siege of  
 Tarentum, a city which had engaged the attention of the Romans  
 more than any other, since the taking of Capua: he is put into posses-  
 sion of it by the commander of the Brutian garrison, whom he had  
 gained over to his interest by means of a Tarentine woman, the favourite  
 mistress of that officer. The riches of which Fabius plundered Ta-  
 rentum, were equal to those which Marcellus found at Syracuse: but  
 he made a very different use of the statues and pictures with which that  
 city was stocked; for he expressed great contempt for those orna-  
 ments, saying, *Let us leave to the Tarentines their angry gods*. And in-  
 deed all the gods worshipped at Tarentum, were represented in a  
 fighting posture, with their proper arms, seeming to menace this city  
 with their wrath; which is what Fabius alluded to. He narrowly es-  
 capes falling into an ambuscade prepared by Hannibal, on the road to



Metapontum (*d*). This general, who arrived too late to relieve Tarentum, had heard of the artifice by which Fabius made himself master of that city : upon which he is said to have uttered these words in great surprize ; *What ! have the Romans then their Hannibal also ?*

Exploits of  
young Scipio  
in Spain.

But the glory of the generals in Italy was greatly eclipsed by the reputation, which young Scipio continued to acquire in Spain, where the command of the army was conferred upon him for an unlimited time. He crosses the Iberus, attacks Asdrubal in a post almost inaccessible, and obtains a complete victory. After which he refuses the title of king, from a great number of Spanish princes, who were come to congratulate him upon his success. “ Those people, says Mr. Rollin “ after Livy, barbarous as they were, had nevertheless a high sense of “ the magnanimity and virtue of a person, who spurned a title so “ greatly coveted and admired by the rest of mankind.” Asdrubal retires towards the Pyrenees, intending to march through Gaul, and join his brother Hannibal in Italy. This was undoubtedly a necessary step : Hannibal had always told his friends that it would be very difficult for him to conquer Italy with his own troops only ; and after the taking of Tarentum he acknowledged the thing to be impossible. Mago posts himself in Lusitania (*e*) : but Asdrubal' son of Gisco repairs to the Balearic islands (*f*), in order to make new levies. Masinissa remains in the heart of Spain, with three thousand horse under his command, to awe the rest of the Carthaginian allies.

545.

Marcellus  
falls into an  
ambuscade,  
and is slain.

A tribune, jealous of Marcellus's glory, accuses him before the tribes ; upon which this general repairs to Rome, and justifies himself by a bare narrative of his exploits : the next day he is chosen consul the fifth time. The two consuls encamp in Apulia, between Venusia and Bantia (*g*). Death of Marcellus, unworthy of so great a general. Though he was sixty years old, he had all the fire and vivacity of youth : this made him venture almost without an escort, to reconnoitre a post that separated the Roman from the Carthaginian camp ; and he set out upon the expedition with Quinctius his colleague, and several officers of distinction. The place being very proper for an ambuscade, Hannibal made good use of it, by concealing a small detachment of Numidian horse, who made a sudden attack upon the Roman

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(*d*) *Metapontum* or *Metapontium*, a city of Magna Græcia in the bay of Tarentum, near the river *Casuentum*, now *Basente*. It stood on the same spot, as the present *Torre di Mare*, and was famous for having been once the residence of Pythagoras.

(*e*) The third part of ancient Spain (the other two were Bætica, and Tarraconensis) including the present Portugal, with part of old and new Castile.

(*f*) These were the islands of Majorca and Minorca, called *Baleares*, ἀπὸ τοῦ βάλλειν, because the inhabitants were famous slingers.

(*g*) A town of Apulia, the remains of which, according to Holstenius, are still to be seen at a place called *S. Maria di Vanze*. Hor. lib. 3. od. 4. mentions *Bantinos Saltus*,

consuls.



consuls. Marcellus was killed, and his son wounded; but Quinctius escaped, though he had received two very dangerous wounds, of which he died, after having had the precaution to name a dictator, which was T. Manlius Torquatus. The Romans retire before Hannibal, and raise the siege of Locri, which they had undertaken merely to avoid being inactive, while the two armies were observing each other.

The proconsul Valerius Lævinus obtains a naval victory off Clypea in Africa.

At the census taken this year, there appeared to be one hundred and thirty seven thousand one hundred and eight citizens fit to bear arms; which was about half the number they had, when Hannibal entered Italy: there had been no census since that time.

546.

As soon as the news came to Rome, that Asdrubal only waited for the spring to pass the Alps, the Romans began to make all the necessary preparations against him: they set on foot an army of three and twenty legions; they obliged the maritime colonies to furnish their contingent, though they had been hitherto exempted; they reinforced the armies in Italy with troops from Spain and Sicily; in a word, contrary to the custom observed for some time, of making the consuls act jointly against Hannibal, they gave them separate commands. C. Nero was sent into the country of the Brutii, to make head against Hannibal; and Livius received orders to march to Cisalpine Gaul, to oppose Asdrubal.

It seemed as if this campaign was to decide the fate of Italy; for Rome would have been undone, had Asdrubal joined his brother. It was not his fault that he did not; but he came down the Alps much earlier than was expected; and this was the very thing that ruined the Carthaginians. Hannibal continued in his winter quarters, not imagining that his brother could reach Italy so soon; or that he had met with so few of those difficulties which had retarded himself in his march through Gaul and over the Alps. "Asdrubal, says father Catrou, "knew how to gain the affection of the Transalpine Gauls; his army "had been reinforced by a great number of the Arverni (b); the "mountaineers being grown less savage, instead of opposing his "march, determined to join him; and he had found the Alps "nothing near so difficult to pass, since his brother, and several "others, within these twelve years had opened and levelled the "roads."

Hannibal is defeated by the prætor C. Hostilius, and afterwards by Claudius Nero, who killed ten thousand of his men in two engagements. This consul, having intercepted letters from Asdrubal to his brother, by which he found that he was preparing to march in order to join him in Umbria, set out privately in the night; and leaving

defeated by  
Nero. „

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(b) The *Arverni* or *Arverni* inhabited that part of Gaul now called *Auvergne*.  
part



Asdrubal  
killed.

part of his troops in his camp, he made forced marches towards Cisalpine Gaul, and joined his colleague Livius in six days. The consuls come to a pitched battle with Asdrubal, whose army is intirely defeated, and he himself is among the slain. This battle was as fatal to the Carthaginians, as that of Cannæ had been to the Romans; the former lost their general and upwards of fifty thousand men. Asdrubal was not inferior to his brother in valour and military skill; as an able general he did all he could to avoid coming to an engagement with the two consuls, for he endeavoured to steal away from them in the dark: but his guides deceived him; and his army, having wandered about all night, was spent with hunger and fatigue, when the Romans came up with them. Yet the victory was long disputed: the brave son of Hamilcar, and worthy brother of Hannibal, faced the enemy on every side, and died sword in hand. The unfortunate Hannibal knew nothing of what had passed, till the consul Nero, at his return to his camp, ordered Asdrubal's head to be thrown into the enemy's trenches. What a sight for such a man as Hannibal! It acquainted him at the same time with the death of his brother, the defeat of his army, and his own disgrace in having been so deceived. O Carthage, he cried out, *unhappy Carthage! Who can withstand the pressure of thy fate!* Then he retired into the country of the Brütii, and collected all his forces, both Carthaginians and allies. The Romans grant a triumph to Livius, and only an ovation to his colleague: it was the first triumph since the commencement of the second Punic war. This Livius, who acts so grand a part upon the present stage, is the same, who twelve years before had been unjustly censured by the people, and had ever since spent his days in retirement. The Romans thought themselves happy in finding him out, after the fatal disaster which bereft them of their two consuls; for he alone seemed to have prudence sufficient to temper the vivacity of his colleague Nero. It is true that Fabius was still living, but being upwards of ninety years of age, he could only enjoy his former glory.

Success of  
the Roman  
arms in  
Spain.

In Spain, the Carthaginians were hemmed in as close, as Hannibal seemed to be in Italy: for now the whole coast along the Mediterranean, and all the eastern part of the province, paid obedience to the Romans. Asdrubal, son of Gisco, after completing his levies in the Balearic islands, retired into Bætica; and Mago had been sent into Celtiberia along with Hanno, a new general lately come from Carthage, to succeed Hannibal's brother. These two generals were beaten in Celtiberia by the proprætor Marcus Julius Silanus; Hanno was taken prisoner, and the Celtiberians in his pay were all cut in pieces: on the other hand, Scipio was in pursuit of the son of Gisco, who could not keep his ground. The Carthaginians were confined to the towns that adhered to their party. The taking of *Oringis* (i) in Bætica, by Lucius, brother of the proconsul. These agreeable tidings are brought

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(i) Livy, lib. 28o. calls it *urbs opulentissima*.



to Rome by Lucius himself, attended by Hanno and many other Carthaginian prisoners of distinction.

The Romans were equally prosperous in Greece, where they had raised great troubles, in order to cut out work for Philip. The *Ætolians* on the one side, supported by the Romans, by the *Lacedæmonians*, and by *Attalus* king of *Pergamus*; and on the other, *Philip* and the *Achæans*, were the principal actors. This war terminated two years after in a peace, in which were included the allies on both sides; but it was not of long duration. And in Greece.

Another naval victory obtained by the proconsul *Lævinus*.

547.

A vestal virgin having suffered the sacred fire to go out, was beaten with rods by the command of the *pontifex maximus*, who, on this occasion, gave orders for particular prayers to appease the wrath of the gods.

The two consuls carry on the war jointly against *Hannibal*; but he kept so well upon the defensive, that they durst not attack him: it was now his turn to be *cunctator*. The whole glory of this campaign was confined to Spain.

The battle of *Bæcula* on the borders of *Bætica*. The Carthaginian army was commanded by three able generals, *Asdrubal*, *Mago* second brother of *Hannibal*, and *Masinissa*: it consisted of seventy four thousand fighting men, with two and thirty elephants: the Romans were only forty eight thousand; but their general's skill supplied the deficiency of numbers. *Asdrubal* had placed the Africans in the center, and the Spaniards in the wings; on the contrary, *Scipio* placed the Romans in the wings, and the Spaniards in the center. He drew up his army in such a manner, that the Africans, who were the flower of the Carthaginian forces, could not come to blows with the Spaniards, who were the weakest part of the Roman army, without running a risk of being surrounded. Such prudent dispositions were attended with all the success that could be wished. The Carthaginians were defeated; and abandoning their camp the night after the battle, they retired towards the sea: *Scipio* pursued them close, and cut most of them in pieces. After two such terrible defeats, the enemy's army was reduced to six thousand men, who entrenched themselves, as well as they could, upon a rock, where it was impossible for them to subsist long for want of provisions. Battle of Bæcula.

*Asdrubal* and *Mago* get down to the sea side, and embark for *Gades*. *Masinissa* has a conference with the proprætor *Silanus*. It is thought, that this prince entered into engagements at that time with the Romans, and that by virtue of the treaty concluded with the republic, the few troops under his command were suffered to disperse into different parts of Spain. *Scipio* crosses over to Africa with two galleys, in order to have a personal conference with *Syphax*, king of the *Masæsylian Numidians*, who had espoused the Carthaginian party; and he reconciles him to the Romans, at least for a while. *Asdrubal* happened to arrive there at the same time as *Scipio*; they both lodged in



in king Syphax's palace, and dined together at his table. The Carthaginian general confessed that Scipio appeared to him as powerful in conversation, as at the head of his armies, so greatly did this illustrious Roman excel in the art of persuasion. Upon his return to Spain, he takes Illiturgis and Castulo (*l*), both which cities had revolted from the Romans: the former, as the most criminal, was destroyed by fire and sword. Another named Astapa afforded still a more tragical spectacle. The inhabitants, hearing that the Romans were upon their march, went out to fight them, and were all killed to a man; except fifty who had been left behind in the town, with orders to cut the throats of their wives and children, and to consign them to the flames, with all their moveables and effects upon the first news of their defeat: accordingly they complied with their orders; and then they threw themselves into the middle of the flames.

Scipio falls dangerously ill: and now it appeared how formidable the very name of this great man was to the enemies of Rome. To complete the conquest of the whole country, he wanted only to make himself master of Gades (*m*), to which city Mago had retreated. The report of his death had like to have been of very bad consequence. Mandonius and Indibilis, two petty kings of the Ilirgetæ (*n*), revolted from the republic, and the spirit of sedition spread among a body of eight thousand legionaries, who were encamped on the banks of the Sucro (*o*). Scipio, by his prudence, and by punishing the ring-leaders, soon quelled the mutiny of his soldiers; and the revolted princes he reduced by force of arms.

Mago, having received orders to hasten with all his forces into Italy, to the assistance of his brother Hannibal, departs from Gades, which soon after submits to the Romans. Scipio is recalled into Italy, and resigns the government of Spain to L. C. Lentulus, and L. Manlius Acidinus, who had been appointed to take upon them the command in the quality of proconsuls.

548.

Scipio  
chosen  
Consul.

Scipio is chosen consul with the unanimous consent of all the centuries. His exploits deserved a triumph, but it had been customary not to grant this honour, except to generals invested with some magistracy: the proconsulate was no such office, when obtained by an extraordinary commission, as had been the case of Scipio. His only triumph consisted in depositing in the public treasury, fourteen thousand three hundred and forty two pounds of silver in bars, and a prodigious

(*l*) It is now called *Caxlona* or *Caxorla*, and is situate on the borders of new Castile.

(*m*) An island without the streights of Gibraltar, where the Tyrian fleet built a town of the same name; whence Silius says, *Victor adit populos, cognataque limina Gades*. It is still called *Cadix*.

(*p*) A people that lived near the city of *Ilerda*, now *Lerida* in Spain.

(*o*) A river of the kingdom of Valencia in Spain, now called Xucar; at the mouth of this river there was a town of the same name, which has been changed into that of *Alzira*.

quantity



quantity of specie, collected from the spoils of Spain, which he ordered to be carried before him as he entered Rome. His colleague Q. Licinius was *pontifex maximus*, a dignity which debarred him from leaving Italy. The occasion seemed favourable to Scipio, who was impatient to remove the seat of war to Africa, and knew that the people designed this expedition for him; but the young hero found all the old captains in the senate jealous of his glory. Even the great Fabius himself, though bending under the weight of years, and military honours, expressed an uneasiness at Scipio's rising merit: in a studied speech, he used his utmost endeavours to expose the dangers of the African expedition, concluding that it should not be entrusted to a young general, who, he said, had suffered Asdrubal, the most dangerous enemy of the Romans, next to his brother Hannibal, to make his escape from Spain; and who had rashly, and without necessity, put himself in the power of a barbarous prince (Syphax). The majority of the senate are brought over to his opinion: and it is decreed that Scipio shall have the command of the little fleet, which the republic maintained constantly on the coast of Sicily, with permission to make a descent in Africa, if he thought proper, in the manner his predecessors had done. Scipio sends thither C. Lælius, his old friend and faithful companion of all his toils, who carries off a considerable booty.

The plague rages among the troops of the consul Licinius, and defeats all his designs: it also reaches Hannibal's camp, at the time that he is greatly distressed for want of provisions. The loss of Locri, which Scipio took just within sight of him, completed his confusion. The only resource he had, was to join his brother Mago, who had lately landed in Liguria, the other extremity of Italy.

Mandonius and Indibilis revolt once more in Spain, and march against the proconsuls, with an army of thirty four thousand men: they are defeated, Indibilis is slain, and Mandonius taken prisoner.

The Romans send to Pessinus a city of Asia (q) for Cybele, the great mother of the gods, called also the Idæan mother. M. Valerius Lævinus, who had been twice consul, and four other persons of high rank, were commissioned to go and bring this deity, in order to comply with an oracle of the Sibylline books, importing, that whenever a foreign enemy had made Italy the seat of war, the only way to vanquish and expel him, was to go for the Idæan mother to Pessinus, and bring her to Rome. We took notice of a deputation of the like kind to Epidaurus, in order to fetch away the god of health, which was nothing more than a large snake: but this was something less, the Idæan mother was a large ugly flint, that was said to have fallen from heaven upon mount Ida in Phrygia. It would be difficult to express with what demonstrations of joy and respect this pretended deity was received in Rome. The senate was obliged to pitch upon the most

The Romans send for the Idæan mother.

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(q) A city of Phrygia. It is declined with an increase, *Pessinuntis*.

virtuous



virtuous man in the republic to go and meet the goddess without the gates, in order to satisfy another oracle of Pythian Apollo, whom the deputies had consulted concerning the success of their enterprize, as they passed by Delphi. The person chosen was young Scipio Nalica, as yet not seven and twenty; he was son of Cneius, consequently cousin german to the consul. "It is pity, says Mr. Rollin, that history does not inform us, what virtues were those, which determined the senate to pronounce this judgment."

549.

Here a new scene opens for the brave, the generous Scipio; he sets out upon his African expedition, which had met with such objections. The famous Cato, surnamed the *Censor*, began to appear on the stage, where he afterwards made so brilliant a figure: his character was quite different from that of Scipio; the latter had the free, easy carriage of a gentleman, and at the same time was a man of sound virtue; the former was morose and reserved, and his virtue is said to have been all outward show. Be that as it may, he joined with the faction that were jealous of Scipio's merit. They charged this great man with having spent his time in idleness and extravagance upon his government of Sicily; and Fabius concluded, that they ought to deprive him of the command of that province, which had been continued to him, according to custom, with the title of pro-consul. He said, moreover, that he ought to be punished for the expedition to Locri, undertaken, contrary to rule, out of his own department. The senate more moderate were content with giving orders, that ten commissioners should go and inform themselves of the facts upon the spot. The only answer Scipio gave them, was to let them see the mighty preparations he had made by sea and land for attacking the enemy. They were surprized at the sight; for indeed it was amazing to behold fifty ships of war well equipped, and an army of five and twenty or thirty thousand men well disciplined, when they knew that Scipio had received very little assistance from the republic: *Yes*, said they to one another, *if Carthage is not invincible, it must be subdued by so fine an army*. It was at the head of those troops that Scipio went over to Africa, with commission to stay there till the end of the war: and Cato followed him thither in the quality of quaestor.

Scipio embarks for Africa.

Scipio, at his arrival, found some alteration of affairs. Syphax had renewed and strengthened his engagements with the Carthaginians, by marrying Sophonisba, the daughter of Asdrubal, a lady celebrated for her good sense, fortitude of mind, and extraordinary beauty. Her father had promised her to Masinissa, who sincerely loved her: but he broke his word, and gave her away to Syphax, merely because Masinissa was unfortunate, having been dispossessed of his throne by Syphax; which were new inducements for Masinissa to adhere to the Romans. He joins Scipio, who after several other advantages gains a complete victory over Asdrubal; above five thousand of the enemy being killed on the

Scipio defeats Asdrubal.



the spot. The proconsul lays siege to Utica, within seventeen or eighteen leagues of Carthage: this was next to the capital, the strongest and richest city of the whole Carthaginian state; and Scipio intended to make it his magazine for arms and provisions: but winter coming on, he is obliged to raise the siege, and retires to a promontory, where he fortifies his camp, under which he shelters his fleet.

In Italy the consul Sempronius is worsted in an engagement with Hannibal near Croton; but he wipes off the disgrace soon after in a second battle, where he obtains a complete victory: four thousand of the enemy were slain, and Hannibal was obliged to retire to Croton, without being able to appear any more in the field the rest of the year. Cornelius Cethegus, the other consul, was employed in Cisalpine Gaul, where he kept Mago at bay.

At Rome, the censors Livius and Claudius Nero abuse one another most grossly, in consequence of an old personal grudge. This scene appeared the more indecent, as one would have imagined that the love of the public good had sincerely reconciled them at the time of their consulship. It seems that Livius was of a very unforgiving temper; by virtue of his censorial authority, he reduced all the Roman tribes to the very lowest class, except the tribe Mæcia, which alone had formerly refused to condemn him. *Either the tribes, said the vindictive Livius, should not have condemned me; or when they had condemned me, they should not have honoured me afterwards with the consulship and censorship; a conduct so contradictory and absurd is their own condemnation, and justifies the judgment I pronounce against them.*

A census, at which there appeared to be two hundred and fourteen thousand citizens fit to bear arms, including the troops then in the service.

550.

Scipio surprizes Syphax and Asdrubal's camps in the night, and sets fire to them: this was the only way to prevent the enemy from coming to attack him with a superior force. The dreadful slaughter, and the immense booty taken in this nocturnal expedition, made it a complete victory. Forty thousand of the enemy were left dead on the spot, and above five thousand were made prisoners of war. Scipio orders them to be burnt, together with the whole booty, in honour of Vulcan, the god of fire. This horrid sacrifice shews how far even the most generous minds may be transported by superstition. He lays siege again to Utica, but is obliged to turn it into a blockade, in order to make head against Syphax and Asdrubal, who had rallied their forces. The latter had been deposed and condemned to death, according to the custom of Carthage: but luckily his soldiers being fond of him, he escaped the sentence, and continued at the head of the army. Whether it was vanity or generosity, he determined to serve his country even against her will. Syphax and Asdrubal are intirely defeated. The consequences of this victory were amazing, and perhaps would have been more so, had Scipio marched directly to Carthage: and the opportunity seemed favourable. He thought just as Hannibal had done, that



Syphax de-  
feated by  
Lælius, and  
taken pri-  
soner.

that before he laid siege to the capital, it was requisite to get a sure footing in the country; and this agreement in opinion between two such able generals, should induce us to believe that they had reason to act as they did. Syphax retires into Numidia, where Lælius and Masinissa come up with him: a battle ensues, in which he is defeated: in the pursuit he is taken prisoner by Masinissa, who, in this expedition, recovers his own throne, makes himself master of Syphax's kingdom, and of the person of Sophonisba, whom he presently marries. "Thus, says father Catrou, Sophonisba in one day lost and recovered a crown; saw herself deprived of one husband, and found another; in a word, made almost an instantaneous transition from the throne to servitude, and from servitude to the throne."

Tragical  
story of So-  
phonisba.

Scipio was not likely to approve of such a marriage. The proconsul, after taking Tunis, made what haste he could to preserve his fleet, which had sustained some small loss from the Carthaginians. There he received the unfortunate Syphax, and learned of him what a bewitching woman Sophonisba was, and how dangerous an enemy to the Romans: besides the Numidian expedition had been performed under the auspices of the republic; to whom it belonged to decide the fate of Sophonisba. Hereupon Scipio resolved to oblige Masinissa to part with her: he spoke to him, and his arguments prevailed. The young king determined to sacrifice his passion to glory. Sophonisba, by the advice of her new husband, imitated his constancy: she drank a cup of poison to avoid falling into the hands of the enemies of her father, and her country. Syphax is carried to Rome by Lælius. Hannibal and Mago receive orders from the senate of Carthage to return to Africa.

Hannibal  
recalled.

This order came just in time to save, in some measure, Hannibal's glory. This general, heretofore so formidable, was now confined to a little corner of the country of the Brutii, where he found it difficult to maintain his ground in the midst of a few allies, whose thoughts were bent upon deserting him. Yet he was heard to say, *It is not thou, O Rome, that drivest me out of Italy, but a senate, jealous of my glory.* Accordingly he set sail; on which occasion he is said to have uttered imprecations against the gods and men: he left but the worst troops behind him in the few towns that were still in the hands of the Carthaginians. As for Mago, he embarked in the greatest hurry, having been wounded in the thigh by a dart at a battle in Insubria, where he was defeated by the proconsul Cornelius Cethegus. Of this wound he died, just as he doubled the island of Sardinia: his fleet was dispersed by a tempest, and afterwards most of the ships fell into the hands of the Romans. But he had used the precaution to leave a Carthaginian officer, named Amilcar, in Liguria, with a small body of troops, as a leaven to ferment in proper time. The senate order public prayers, and all the temples to be opened for five days, in thanksgiving for Hannibal's departure. Audience given to the Carthaginian ambassadors, who came to sue for peace. But this was only a feint to gain time, till Hannibal and Mago arrived. The Carthaginians did not wait for the